OUTLINES OF CHURCH HISTORY

Warfield

FOR THE USE OF THE SENIOR CLASS

IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY IN PRINCETON.

BY

JAMES C. MOFFAT,

HELENA PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY.

From A. D. 1648 to 1870.

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CHARLES S. ROBINSON, PRINTER.
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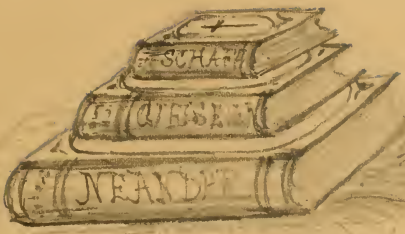

THE BASIS

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REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

Reformation began in England, with the dawn of English literature, under Wyclif and his illustrious compeers. And never afterward, though fiercely assailed by persecution, and for a long time retarded by the civil wars, and the policy of the royal house of Lancaster, was it entirely suppressed. In the last years of the fourteenth century, the reforming party, to which the name Lollard was applied, had become quite numerous. It was estimated by men of that time at about one-fourth of the nation. After Wyclif's death, in 1384, the most zealous preacher of that persuasion was William Swinderby, an itinerant minister, who was attended by great numbers, wherever he preached.

The reign of Richard II. held persecution under restraint; but when, in 1399, that monarch was deposed, Henry IV., to secure support for his usurpation, extended every favor to the priesthood. And Parliament, January 21, 1401, passed a law that persons convicted of heresy should be burned to death. Thomas Arundel, archbishop of Canterbury, with great zeal, carried the law into execution. The first martyr under it, William Sawtray, (or Sautre,) a parish priest in the city of London, suffered in the very year of its enactment. Arundel died in 1414, and was succeded by Henry Chicheley, who carried forward the persecution with still greater severity. In the following year, he obtained a law enacting that the chancellor, the judges and other magistrates, on admission to office, should make oath to do every thing in their power to extirpate the Lollards. Chicheley was primate until 1443. Persecution relaxed during the civil wars, from 1452 to 1485, when all the energies of the ruling parties were absorbed in the strife with each other.

After the accession of Henry VII. (1485,) and union of the houses of York and Lancaster, it was revived, and continued in the succeeding reign. Wolsey, as an agent of persecution, under Henry VIII., withheld its severer infliction; but when, in 1529, Sir Thomas More became chancellor, the fires of Smithfield were rekindled and their horrors repeated in the provinces. The Reformation spirit was overawed, but not extinguished. In London it still found expression in the Association of "Christian Brothers," founded in 1525, and in various ways over the kingdom, especially in the sale of new translations of the Scriptures.

When, in the early part of the sixteenth century, the voice of reform, on the continent, began to assume a distinct and uncompromising tone, multitudes in England were prepared to join in it. Henry VIII. endeavored to repress the growing conviction. In 1521 he published a treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, in opposition to Luther. The work was highly approved of by the Pope, who rewarded Henry with the title "Defender of the faith." His zeal for the extirpation of heresy was further provoked by the reply of Luther, which evinced more controversial fervor than deference to the royal rank of his adversary. On the other hand, an event in the king's own household led to a rupture of his papal allegiance. He had from twelve years of age been married to his brother's widow, Catherine of Arragon, maternal aunt of the emperor Charles V. The contract was formed by his father, under a special dispensation from Pope Julius II., but with its validity the young prince was never satisfied. As early as 1527, he made application to Pope Clement VII. to have it declared null. The pope delayed. In 1530 at the suggestion of Thomas Cranmer, the king consulted the learned men in the great universities of Europe. Nine foreign universities together with Oxford and Cambridge, many divines in all parts of Europe and the Convocation of English clergy decided that his view of the case was in accordance with Scripture and the doctrine of the Catholic church. Accordingly, the king considering his marriage with his brother's widow null, was on the 25th of

January 1533, married to Anne Boleyn. The Pope gave judgment against him, and endeavored to enforce his censure. The king asserted the correctness of his own conduct, as sustained by higher authority than that of the pope, appealed to the next general council, and forthwith took measures to exclude papal interference from his dominions.

In 1534 by the oath of supremacy, Henry was himself recognized as head of the English Church. Still, it was no part of his design to follow the example of the continental reformers. He had debarred the papal authority from England; but was not disposed to tolerate any change in religion. Both Protestants and Papalists suffered at his hands. A great number of monastic houses were suppressed, and their estates transferred to the Crown. But the national hierarchy was retained, with the Romish forms of worship, and the Romish doctrine. In 1539 an act was passed for "abolishing diversity of opinion in religion"; and a list of six articles, comprehending the strong points of Romanism, was published, which all Englishmen were to be compelled to accept. Nothing but the real protestantism widely diffused among his clergy and people rendered the measures of Henry VIII. a reformation. Providentially, Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury from 1533, was an earnest reformer, and, at the same time, retained the king's favor.

The most valuable gain for the cause of reformation secured in that reign was made in publishing the Scriptures. A translation of the New Testament directly from the Greek into the English by William Tyndale was printed in Flanders in 1526, and the Old Testament translated from the Hebrew, by the same hand, was printed with at it Hamburg 1532. Three years later, Tyndale suffered death for heresy. In 1535, Miles Coverdale published at Zurich that edition of the whole Bible which was the first allowed in England by royal authority. In 1536 an injunction was issued to the clergy to provide a "copy of the Bible in Latin and one in English and lay them in the choir of every parish church in the realm, for every man, who chose, to read therein,

and directing that none should be discouraged from reading, but rather exhorted so to do."

Another edition of the English Bible was printed on the Continent in 1537, bearing the name of Thomas Matthew, but consisting of Tyndale's New Testament, and the Old Testameat of Tyndale and Coverdale. Archbishop Cranmer, who took an active part in promoting scriptural knowledge among the people, moved in Convocation to present a petition to the king for permission to prepare a new translation. Queen Anne Boleyn used her influence with the king, and the permission was granted. Cranmer immediately assigned the work of correcting existing translations to different scholars, each one a separate part, requesting them to execute their respective tasks, and return them to him by a given time. The new version was brought out in 1539, with a preface by Cranmer, and is commonly called Cranmer's great Bible. In the same year, another translation was made by Richard Taverner, and published in London. Next year two editions of the English Bible were issued, with a preface by Cranmer.

The Romish party used every effort to obstruct the progress thus made, and so far prevailed with Parliament as to obtain the passing of an act forbidding the use of Tyndale's version, and allowing the others under severe restrictions. Notwithstanding, the translations were bought and read with avidity by many persons of all ranks; and especially in connection with the revived study of the original languages, they had a material influence in the universities, "long before the obstacles to an authorized translation were overcome."

A kindred work for the reformation was done, soon afterwards, in a metrical version of the Psalms. Thomas Sternhold, moved with disgust at the licentious songs of the day, like Marot, in France, prepared several of the Psalms to take their place. He versified forty-one. John Hopkins added fifty-eight, and the rest of the work was completed by various hands. They were introduced into the service of the church gradually.

Henry VIII. died Jan. 28, 1547. The heir of the crown, Edward VI., was a minor, educated in the Pro-

testant religion. In his brief reign, from 1547 to 1553, was the best part of the English reformation effected. The system of doctrine adopted was that of the Reformed churches on the continent. A similar change in church government was contemplated, and had Edward VI. seen a longer life it would probably have been made. But his death, was followed by the furious Romanist reaction under Mary; and the policy of Elizabeth was to accept the Reformation and restrain it to the stage at which Edward left it. By that means the movement was greatly retarded and divided within itself. In its history there are seven distinct periods, of which three arose out of that internal division.

1. The first opens with Wycliff and his coadjutors, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, from about 1370; and may be counted as doing the preparatory work until 1534.

2. The second, from 1534 to 1547, during which the English church was separate from Rome, but not reformed, a large number, if not the majority of both clergy and people holding reformed views, without being free to profess them.

3. The third is the brief, but momentous reign of Edward VI., from 1547 to 1553.

4. The fourth is that of the Catholic reaction, in the reign of Mary, from 1553 to 1558,

5. The fifth was a protracted conflict between the party which aimed at the simple church government and worship set up by the Reformed on the continent, and that which sustained Elizabeth's half-way policy, continued through all the reigns of Elizabeth, James I. and Charles I, from 1559 to 1642.

6. The sixth from 1642 until 1660, was the triumph of the Puritan party. And

7. The seventh was that of the Prelatic reaction, from 1660 until 1688 in the end of which a compromise was established, consisting of government support to the stronger party and toleration to the weaker, the nearest approach to religious freedom, which England has yet reached.

Catholic England was ecclesiastically divided into the two provinces of Canterbury and York; the provinces,

into dioceses, and these into parishes, and other cures of various denominations, each diocese was governed by a bishop, the archbishops of York and Canterbury stood at the head of their respective provinces, Canterbury was the primate of the kingdom; and the supremacy over all rested in the hands of the Pope. It was the last of these authorities alone which was changed by the schism of Henry VIII.

Bishops were empowered to call councils of their respective dioceses, and archbishops, of their provinces. From early time the kings adopted the practice of requiring the archbishops to convoke their clergy in meetings connected with Parliament, for the purpose of voting the taxes to be paid by the clergy, and the exercise of other temporal functions. These were called convocations, of which there was one for either province; that of Canterbury being the superior, as under the presidency of the Primate. Having also the right of exercising spiritual functions, convocations gradually usurped the place of purely ecclesiastical synods, and became the sole provincial synods of England, meeting at the same time with Parliament. Neither was this altered by the Reformation.

Under Edward VI., Convocation and Parliament co-operated in reform of doctrine and worship. Early in that reign, curates were instructed to take down from their churches such images as had been made objects of worship. And the keeping of an English Bible in some convenient part of the church for the people to read was reinforced and the restrictions repealed. All persons in the lower ranks of the clergy were ordered to possess the New Testament, in both Latin and English, with the paraphrase of Erasmus, upon which they were to be examined by the bishops, in their visitations and synods. They were also ordered to read portions of it before their congregations, on Sundays, and other holy days.

Books were also published by Archbishop Cranmer for religious instruction. A catechism for general use, and twelve Homilies for aid of the clergy were drawn up by him, or under his direction.

A general visitation of the kingdom, by commissioners appointed by the crown, was instituted, for the pur-

pose of inquiring into doctrine and conduct of the clergy, and of furnishing instructions for worship and the regulation of the parishes.

Parliament, assembled Nov. 4, 1547, began by repealing all statutes against heretics, including the odious "six articles." It was now enacted that the Mass should give place to the Communion, and that the sacrament should be administered to all communicants under both kinds. The remaining monastic houses were suppressed, and their revenues put into the king's hands, to be expended in erecting grammar schools, in further augmenting the universities, and in making better provision for the poor.

Commissioners appointed to draw up a book of Common Prayer assembled at Windsor, May 9th, 1548. The new liturgy was presented to the Convocation which met in November, and, having been agreed to by that body, was brought into Parliament, where a law was passed, Jan. 21st, 1549, that from Whitsunday, June 10th, 1549, "all divine offices should be performed according to it."

In 1551, a committee was appointed to reform the system of ecclesiastical laws, under which the Archbishop was requested to prepare a book of articles, for "preserving and maintaining peace and unity of doctrine in the church." The articles of religion were accordingly published in 1553, having received the approval of Convocation, and the royal assent. They were forty-two in number. A shorter catechism, containing the "sum of christian learning," was issued in Latin and English, the same year together with the articles. The body of ecclesiastical laws was completed, but not soon enough to receive the king's sanction.

A revised edition of the Prayer Book was authorized by the Parliament of 1552, which also declared the marriage of the clergy to be legal.

Alterations were made in the ecclesiastical vestments, which some proposed to reject altogether.

These changes were not made without opposition. Bishops Gardiner of Winchester, and Bonner of London resisted with most obstinacy. The latter submitted under protest, and the former was retained in prison. In

some parts of the country the Romanist population expressed their discontent by rising in rebellion, which had to be put down by authority, or by arms. In Devonshire the insurgents demanded "that the six articles should be restored, that the Mass should be said in Latin, that the host should be elevated and adored, that the sacrament should be given in only one kind, that images should be set up in churches, that souls in Purgatory should be prayed for, that the Bible should be called in and prohibited, and that the new service book should be laid aside, and the old religion restored." The weight of the religious opposition may however be overestimated. Because it was everywhere connected with resistance to the land usurpation of the country nobles and gentry: and certain unwise measures of the King's council in matters of state and finance became complicated with and prejudiced the cause of the Reformation.

In addition to all that was done by the Parliament and Convocation of England, it was designed by Cranmer to have a synod called of theologians representing all the churches of the Reformation, with a view to mutual support and harmony of doctrine. He corresponded on the subject with both Lutherans and Reformed. But ere the plan could be matured, the whole work of reformation was suspended in England by the death of the king, on the 6th of July, 1553.

The next heir to the throne was King Edward's oldest sister Mary, daughter of Catherine of Aragon, who had been educated in strict adherence to the Church of Rome. The attempt of the Earl of Northumberland to set up a rival candidate, in the person of Lady Jane Grey, failed and involved the principal persons concerned with it in ruin.

Mary's religion gave much anxiety to the reformers; but the majority of the nation were not yet fully prepared to coincide with them. The people of England, at that time consisted of three parties; first that which advocated the right of the Pope to full ecclesiastical dominion, with all that it implied—a party which was very small; second, a moderate reforming party, which rejected the Papacy, dependency upon Rome, and the

monastic orders but preferred the old forms of worship, of belief, and the national priesthood; it also included a large number of that class of property-holders who had shared in the confiscated lands of the monasteries; and the third was that of the thoroughgoing reformers. The second was more numerous than both the other two, and was that which hailed the accession of Mary with rejoicing, in the hope that she would restore the state of things as it stood in the latter years of her father. It was also the party, which when disappointed by her restoration of the Papal supremacy, persecution, and attempts to restore the monasteries, ultimately revolted against her, and gave their support to the protestants.

Mary at first evinced no disposition to cruelty, and the persecuting laws had been repealed, but her purpose to sustain the extreme papal party appeared in her deposing the reforming bishops, and putting strong Romanists in their room. Gardiner was made bishop of Winchester and chancellor of the kingdom, and Bonner, Bishop of London. Ridley, Coverdale and Hooper were sent to prison, where Cranmer soon after followed them. Many others were treated in the same manner, and a proclamation was issued, August 18, 1553, by which all preachers were silenced except those who should receive license from the Queen, by whom the whole authority on that matter was transferred to Gardiner. Those who refused to comply were sent to prison. Many, foreseeing the fate which awaited them, fled to the continent. And so precipitately was the change effected, that when Parliament met, Oct. 5, 1553, three months after the death of King Edward, only two protestant bishops appeared in their places. The Queen communicated to the Pope her recognition of his supremacy, and her kinsman, Cardinal Pole, was appointed legate to reconcile the kingdom to the Roman see. But so little were the English people yet prepared for such a step, that it was thought prudent to defer it for more than a year.

In order to fortify the Romish interest both in England and on the continent, as well as to serve the ambition of the Emperor Charles V., marriage was by him negotiated between his son Philip and the Queen of

England. It was solemnized on the 25th of July, 1554. Philip resided in England about fourteen months, after which he went into the Netherlands, to be present at his father's abdication, and to receive the crown of Spain and her dependencies at his hands.

On the arrival of Cardinal Pole Nov. 24, 1554, the kingdom was formally reconciled to the Pope; and regular measures were taken to enforce his authority. The leader in that progress was the Queen, but her oracle and instigator was Cardinal Pole, and the prime agent in procuring the action of Parliament in their favor was Bishop Gardiner. The laws of Edward's reign touching religion, and the ecclesiastical acts of Henry VIII. were repealed, and by the beginning of January, 1555, the legal powers of persecution for religion's sake were fully re-established. That end was not attained without warm and protracted debate and the opposition of a strong minority, and on two points compliance with the court was persistently withheld. Those were the alteration of Henry's will touching the royal succession, whereby Elizabeth would have been cut off, and the restitution of the abbey lands.

The severest penalties for heresy were again inflicted. In February 1555, John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's was burned at the stake, in Smithfield, for receiving the sacrament according to the liturgy of Edward VI. Five days after, Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, was committed to the flames in the city of Gloucester. Then followed in rapid succession victim after victim, among whom were Ridley, formerly Bishop of London, Latimer, Bishop of Worcester, Ferrars Bishop of St. Davids and others, the most conspicuous in the church, with many of humbler rank. These executions took place chiefly at Smithfield in London, but also at Oxford, Canterbury and elsewhere. Cranmer was retained in prison until March 21, 1556, when he was burned at Oxford. On the next day, Cardinal Pole was made Archbishop of Canterbury. Gardiner had died on the 12th of November preceding.

From the execution of Rogers, Feb. 4, 1555, until the last victims at Canterbury Nov. 10, 1558, not less than two hundred and seventy persons perished in the flames.

And adding those who died of imprisonment, torture and other injuries, the number reached almost four hundred, who, in the short time of about three years and a half, suffered for religion's sake. Bad management of the government in other respects, and failure of the national arms abroad increased the general discontent. Several insurrections had been attempted, and a more general movement seemed on the point of breaking out, as appeared from the threatening temper of the House of Commons which met Nov. 5, 1558. Mary's death a few days afterwards, Nov. 17, allayed the ferment, and put an end to Papal denomination in England. Sixteen hours later, Cardinal Pole, the chief instigator of the persecution, died also. The last victims of the stake had suffered at Canterbury only seven days before.

The accession of Elizabeth, daughter of Queen Anne Boleyn, filled the hearts of Protestants and anti-papal Catholics with joy. She was of a naturally superior intellect, well educated, and now five and twenty years of age. Pope Paul IV. took offence at her assumption of royalty without his consent. Elizabeth took no steps to procure it. Her first royal act was to order the release of all persons imprisoned for religion's sake, while she also restrained the impetuosity of too hasty reformers. All preaching was suspended until the meeting of parliament. Only the church service and reading the scriptures were allowed. No alterations were to be made except by an act of the nation. The policy of Elizabeth, from the beginning, was to restrain the Reformation to the stage at which it had arrived when Edward died; at that stage to constitute it the Church of England, and to hold catholics in check, while admitting them to entire equality of rights in both church and state. It was not yet presumed that any save extreme Papalists would be dissenters. Her right to the crown she rested upon her father's will. All the Bishops she received graciously except Bonner of London, whose brutality had made him disreputably conspicuous in the persecution. For her council she selected from both Protestants and national Catholics. The former alone were retained permanently. Among them were Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord

Burleigh, secretary of state, and Nicholas Bacon, keeper of the great seal. The papalists withdrew, or were removed. By Cecil the present safety and quiet of the realm were secured by the wisest and most expeditious measures.

The Queen was crowned on the 15th of January 1559. Parliament met ten days after. The royal supremacy was restored, and papal dominion excluded from the kingdom. Supremacy was explained, as not giving power to conduct divine service in the church, but simply "under God the sovereignty and rule over all manner of persons within the realm of England both ecclesiastical and temporal, so as no foreign power should have superiority over them;" and appeal should not be carried from any English court to that of Rome. Matthew Parker, an advanced Protestant, was made Archbishop of Canterbury. The law of Henry VIII. for the election of bishops was revived; also those passed in the reign of Edward VI. for the reformation of religion. The monastic houses founded, or restored by Mary were suppressed, and their property annexed to the crown. Most of the monks returned to secular life, but the nuns withdrew to catholic countries.

The Queen was empowered to appoint a commission consisting of either churchmen or laymen for the settlement of ecclesiastical causes. From that, called the High Commission Court, there was to be no appeal. Heresy was to be adjudged by the plain and express words of Scripture, of the first four general Councils, and as might thereafter be determined by Parliament and Convocation. By the act of uniformity all church service was to be conducted according to the second Liturgy of Edward VI., with a few alterations then introduced, the alterations being mostly backward to the re-adoption of what had been rejected as Romish, in forms of worship and sacerdotal habits.

Convocation, which met at the same time with Parliament, and was still predominantly Catholic, drew up and presented to the Lord Keeper six articles designed to maintain the state of things as constituted in the reign of Mary. A conference was appointed between the Reformed

and Catholic divines, eight on each side. It issued in only a conviction that the two were irreconcilable. When the session of Parliament had closed, the oath of supremacy was tendered to all the bishops, and refused by all except the bishop of Llandaff. The parish clergy were of a different mind, and with but few exceptions joined the Reformation. Of 9,400 beneficed clergymen under Mary's reign only 192 refused the oath of supremacy, and of these only 80 were rectors of churches. The rest were bishops , deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries. No severity was imposed upon any of them, except three, Bonner of London with his partners in cruelty, White bishop of Winchester, and Watson of Lincoln. Bonner was imprisoned for life, the other two imprisoned for a time, then released, a pension was assigned them, upon which they withdrew from the country. Next convocation was protestant.

A church visitation, like that of Edward VI., was appointed. The instructions on this occasion were specially addressed to the order of public worship and the style of church music, enjoining "that it be simple and plain."

Much desire was expressed on the part of a great number to do away with the clerical vestments, and in the universities they were actually abandoned by many.

Archbishop Parker found some difficulty in filling the vacant sees, from the fact that the most competent clergy had arrived at views of Reformation too far advanced for the Anglican church. Such was really the state of his own, and he had accepted episcopal office only in compliance with the royal command.

A short profession of faith was drawn up consisting of eleven articles setting forth clearly the peculiar attitude of the Anglican Church. Also a new translation of Bible, made by certain English and Scottish refugees in ~~in~~ Geneva, was printed in 1562. Doctrinal controversy between Catholic and Protestants was determined in its character chiefly by that carried on between Bishop Jewel, and John Harding one of the Romish theologians of Louvain.

Convocation of 1563 assembled specially for the settlement of doctrine and discipline. The basis adopted was

that of the Forty-two Articles—of these four were now omitted, and some of the rest altered with a bearing to a more complete reform. The first book of Homilies had been reprinted in 1560; the second which had also been prepared in whole, or in part, before the death of Edward, was now printed for the first time (1563). Some years afterwards, the Articles of Religion were again revised, another article, the XXIXth, added, making in all Thirty-nine, and thus were ratified by convocation, May 11, 1571. A defence of the English church was prepared by Bishop Jewel. Being designed for theologians generally it was written in Latin, and with the sanction of Convocation was published in 1563.

Already the Puritan element was strong in the English Church. When the subject of rites and ceremonies came to be treated by the same Convocation, several papers were introduced proposing a more thorough change. Many of the members were disposed to go the length of excluding all sacerdotal vestments, organs, saint's days, lay baptism, and the obligation of kneeling at the Eucharist. To those who thus advocated a more complete reformation the name Puritan was in course of time generally applied.

A new revision of the Bible was brought out in 1568. It is called "The Bishop's Bible," as having been prepared chiefly by the English Bishops under the supervision of Archbishop Parker. For forty years it held the place of authority in the public service of the English Church, while the Genevan Bible was used in Scotland and generally by the Puritans of England in private.

So far, all varieties of opinion, from Romanist to Puritan, were comprehended within the pale of the one National Church. But the extremes were soon to drop off, and the forcible means employed to retain them accelerated the separation. The breach was first made with the more advanced Puritans. In church service many catholic forms were still enforced, the hierarchy was unaltered except in as far as disconnected with Rome, and some of the Romish vestments were still canonical. In all these respects, a number of the clergy desired and expected a further reform. Many had, of their own

freedom disused the vestments, when the law was passed which enforced the wearing of them. A matter of previously little moment now involved a question of christian principle. In January 1565, certain canons were issued by the ecclesiastical commissioners for the purpose of enforcing uniformity of "doctrine and preaching, administration of prayer and sacraments, certain orders in ecclesiastical polity, outward apparel of persons ecclesiastical, and promises to be made by persons entering upon any ecclesiastical office."

By one of those canons all licenses to preach granted before March 1, 1564, were declared void, and those who were thought qualified for the office of preaching were to be admitted again by a new license, and that was not granted except under a promise of conformity to the dresses and ceremonies. Many of the best ministers were thereby turned out of their places, and many congregations left destitute. Among the displaced was Miles Coverdale. For a time he continued to preach in private houses. His example was followed by several other ministers, whose services were attended by considerable numbers of their respective congregations. After the lapse of a few months, seeing no hope from the leniency of the government, they resolved to break off entirely their connection with the national establishment, and organize themselves as congregations on a Presbyterian model. This took place in 1566. Government attempted to crush the dissenters. They continued to increase notwithstanding, and four years later, Nov. 20, 1572, at Wandsworth, in the neighborhood of London, organized their congregations into a presbytery.

In the end of the year 1568, a Catholic insurrection occurred with the view of putting Mary of Scotland on the throne of England. The papal excommunication of Elizabeth followed soon after, 1569. A more strongly marked distinction between Catholic and Protestant was the effect, and Catholics could no longer attend the services of a church which recognized an excommunicated head. That act of the Pope made his adherents thenceforward dissenters in England. In the same year, a Romish College for Englishmen and for operation upon

England was established at Douay, in the Netherlands, under patronage of Philip II. of Spain.

Instead of making the Queen more indulgent to her loyal protestant subjects, these events urged her to greater stringency in carrying out the law of uniformity. At that very date, Bridwell and other prisons were full of Puritans." All her subjects were ordered to attend service and commune in the established church. In Parliament 1571, an effort was made by the commons for relief of the Puritans, but was suppressed by interference of royal authority. By far the greater number of the Puritans were still in connection with the established church, and seeking its further reformation. About 1569 they were strengthened by the accession of the Rev. Thomas Cartwright, Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge, who with great learning and eloquence unfolded in his lectures the errors of the established church, and advocated their removal. When challenged for non-conformity, he offered to hold a public disputation on the points in question. That was declined. But he was forbidden to continue his lectures, and soon after, contrary to the advice of the Secretary of State, deprived of his fellowship by the authorities of the university and expelled.

The Puritan party in the church objected to the hierarchy and certain evils connected with it; to the law which confined public worship to prescribed forms; to various observances retained from Romish practice but without sanction from Scripture, and to the use of clerical vestments. They held that Scripture is the only standard of religion, and that every man has a right to read and judge of it for himself.

Archbishop Parker died May 17, 1575. He was succeeded by Grindal, who insisting upon carrying the improvement and efficiency of his clergy beyond the measure assigned by the Queen, was in 1577 suspended from office. The primacy remained virtually vacant until his death in 1583. Whitgift was then put into it, and holding firmly to the Queen's policy of uniformity, retained it through all the rest of her reign.

Notwithstanding the severity with which they were treated, the Puritans continued to increase in numbers,

and every effort to draw the reins of uniformity tighter upon the church drove more of them out of it. Many of the established ministers took refuge in associations for mutual improvement which were called "Prophecyings of the clergy." They soon proved, like other opportunities of free expression in England, in those days, seminaries of Puritan views. The Archbishop received instructions from the Queen to suppress them.

Among the exiles from the established church was Robert Brown, a preacher of some popular power, who collected a congregation on principles of his own. It was broken up, and he with several of his friends and followers went to Holland, where at Middleburg in Zealand, they formed the first congregation of Independents, called in the first instance Brownists. In 1589 Brown returned to England and accepted a rectorship in the establishment.

Shortly before the death of Elizabeth, another separate congregation was formed under better auspices, and which soon afterward found a wiser leader in John Robinson. Persecution in England constrained them also to seek refuge in Holland. Their number increased, and under the prudent advice of Mr. Robinson their church polity was gradually formed towards that type which has since been called congregational. Residence in a country where they were cut off from the people by the barrier of a foreign language, together with other objections, led them in a few years to seek for some abode more favorable to future prosperity and spiritual freedom. That project issued in 1620 in the celebrated emigration of the Puritan Pilgrims to America.

In England, the Puritans were still, for the most part, members of the established church, and differed considerably in opinion, but all looking more or less to the model of the Reformed churches on the continent.

In the early part of her reign, Elizabeth was lenient to Catholics; but after they had stirred up discontent and rebellion in the kingdom, and the Pope had issued excommunication against her, and plots had been formed against her life, severity to them on her part became self-defence.

Amidst a long continued turmoil of conflicting interests political, military, religious and personal, in which the safety of England was secured mainly by a judicious balancing of the jealousies of France and Spain, the church of England received the characteristic features of its worship and polity. Its doctrine had been determined, as far as reformed, in the reign of Edward. Its peculiarities among protestants are its Royal Supremacy, its episcopal order of ministers, its recognition of the church's legislative power in spiritual things, the enforcing of Sacerdotal vestments, and its peculiar liturgy.

The death of Elizabeth occurred on the 24th of March 1603, and with it the dynasty of the house of Tudor. The nearest heir to the throne of England was the King of Scots, only child of the unfortunate Mary Stuart.

REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND.

The history of the Reformation in Scotland consists of four distinct periods: first, the preliminary period until the martyrdom of Patrick Hamilton in 1528; second from 1528 until the meeting of the first Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland Dec. 20, 1560: thirdly from that event to the date of the National Covenant 1638, and fourth from 1638 to the adoption of the works of the Westminister Assembly in 1647. Subsequent endurance of oppression, and deliverance from it were changes not properly to be counted as belonging to the Reformation from Romanism.

1. What Staupitz was in Saxony, Wyttenbach in Switzerland, and John Wessel in Holland, such in Scotland was John Major, Professor of Philosophy and Theology in St. Andrews. Major was born in 1469, studied at Oxford, Cambridge and Paris, and having held the professorship now mentioned, and subsequently the office of Provost of the University of St. Andrews. died in 1550. Among other things he taught that the authority of princes was derived from the people and that a general council is superior to a Pope; he denied the temporal supremacy of the Pope, and that Papal excommunication had any force; he censured the vices

of the hierarchy and of the Papal Court, and advised the reduction of monasteries.

It was at St. Andrews, while John Major was in his best days, that George Buchanan, Patrick Hamilton, Henry Balnavis and John Knox were fellow students, in the years 1524, 1525 and 1526, at the same time that Sir David Lindsay, only a few years their senior, was residing upon his hereditary estates, in the neighborhood. Lindsay was a layman, and a courtier, but together with his fashionable accomplishments united earnest moral and religious purpose, and employed his popularity as a poet with great effect in the exposure of prevailing error and iniquity, and promoting Scriptural knowledge. He was born in 1490, and died in 1557.

Balnavis was also a layman, who in a career of eminent legal and political success, aided much in the progress of the Reformation.

The most important service rendered to the cause by Buchanan was in the field of education, and literature, and most of all, perhaps, as tutor of the regent Murray and of King James.

Patrick Hamilton was a youth of noble birth, whose education, conducted at St. Andrews, was further prosecuted at Wittenberg and Marburg. He was the first to preach Protestant doctrine in Scotland. Arrested by Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, he was tried for heresy and burned at the stake, Feb. 28, 1528, when he had reached only the twenty-fourth year of his age. That startling event gave publicity to the cause. Knowledge of the truth spread fast. The hierarchy in their alarm became more cruel; between 1530 and 1540, many pious people were put to death or driven into exile. The effect was the contrary of that intended, stimulating inquiry, and creating hatred of the persecutors.

John Knox, to whom the Scottish Reformation owes more than to any other, was born in 1505. He entered the University of St. Andrews in 1524 at the same time with Buchanan, under the same instructors, and in the same college of St. Salvador. Both early excelled in the scholastic learning of the course, and early became dissatisfied with it, and "overleaped the boundaries pre-

scribed for them by their more timid guides." For some years after he became master of arts, Knox continued to teach philosophy in the University. In 1530, or shortly before, he was ordained priest, but did not preach, preferring to remain in his office of teaching. Meanwhile his studies led him to the early fathers, among whom he was particularly attracted by Jerome and Augustine, and by them was led to the Holy Scriptures in the original tongues; but not until 1542 does it appear that he professed himself on the side of the Reformation. He then left St. Andrews, and retired to the southern part of the kingdom, where he found protection, with two wealthy gentlemen, who employed him to educate their children. In 1544 he attached himself to the preaching of George Wishart, who had just returned from England and the continent richly laden with learning, and with the doctrines of the Reformation, and possessed of fervent piety, a most persuasive eloquence, and unflinching courage in the cause of truth. In 1546, Wishart was arrested at the instance of Cardinal Beaton, tried for heresy, and condemned to the flames. The sentence was executed on the following day, March 1, 1546. Retribution also followed fast. The Cardinal was beyond the reach of law. Certain persons, too rashly following the dictates of natural revenge, seized the castle of St. Andrews, where he resided, and put him to death, March 29, 1546.

Persecution was now quickened in its turn. Knox with several others sought protection with the conspirators in the castle of St. Andrews, in April, 1547. It was while there that, at the call of the garrison and residents and urged by the reformed preacher John Rough, he first felt constrained to undertake the ministry of the gospel, when he was over forty years of age. By French forces the castle was reduced, July 31, the beseiged were carried to France, and held as prisoners in various places. Knox with others was sent to the galleys, and there treated with all the indignities offered to heretics. He was liberated in 1549, and immediately repaired to England, where he was employed in the reformation under Edward VI., and assigned to preach at Berwick. At the accession of Mary

of England he returned to the continent, and remained several years, enjoying the friendship of Calvin and other reformers, and aiding in that translation of the Bible called the Genevan. In 1555 he appeared in Scotland, but left it next year. His final return was in May, 1559. It was followed immediately by the events which overthrew the Roman Catholic, and established the Reformed Church in Scotland.

It was not among the higher clergy of Scotland that the Reformation found its supporters, but among scholars, and the laity generally, both nobles and commoners. In England the narrative begins with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the ecclesiastics highest in place about him; in Scotland it begins with youth in the university, and is continued in the lives of scholars, and of a few priests who felt called to preach the gospel.

The doctrine of Patrick Hamilton was Lutheran, but as soon as the Reformed creed was introduced, it met with universal favor among the Protestants of Scotland.

On the Romish side, the principal champion was the Primate, James Beaton, Archbishop of St. Andrews, upon whose death in 1539, the same eminence was assumed by his nephew, David Beaton, who, also Archbishop of St. Andrews, and raised to the rank of a Cardinal, was, for the burning of George Wishart and other acts of cruelty, put to death in 1546.

King James IV. of Scotland, in 1503, married Margaret daughter of Henry VII. of England. Ten years afterwards, he was slain at Flodden, when his son, James V., was only two years old. Thus was the government, at the opening of the Reformation in the hands of a regency. In the year in which Patrick Hamilton suffered, the young king, at the age of 17, escaped from restraint and assumed the reins himself. He had little favor for the hierarchy, but never was in condition to resist it, and was sometimes constrained to the execution of its judgments. In 1538, he married Mary of Guise, daughter of the Duke of Loraine, head of the extreme Catholic party in France. James V. died in 1542. His daughter Mary, heir of the throne, was only a week old. James Hamilton, earl of Arran, and kinsman of Patrick

Hamilton was made regent. An act of Parliament that same year made it lawful for all to read the Scriptures in their native tongue. But in a short time the Regent abjured his reformation principles. At the end of twelve years he resigned, and Mary of Guise, the Queen Mother, assumed the regency.

Queen Mary, at the age of six years, was taken to France to be educated among her mother's kindred. At sixteen she was married to Francis, heir of the throne of France, to which he succeeded next year, (1559). On the ground of Mary's descent from Henry VII., the young King and Queen of France and Scotland assumed also the royal title of England, and were sustained by the Catholics.

The Queen Regent of Scotland died June 10th, 1560. Her daughter now Queen of France remained with her husband in that country. About six months later, Dec. 4, 1560, Francis 11. died, and the union of the crowns of France and Scotland came to an end. Mary did not arrive in Scotland until the 19th of August next. In the interval, Parliament, August 24, 1560, had abolished the Papal jurisdiction in Scotland, and left the Reformed Church free to determine upon its own constitution and confession of doctrine. The first Assembly of the Reformed Church of Scotland met, accordingly, on the 20th of December, that year.

Clergy who joined the Reformation were few. In the first Assembly among forty-one members, only six were ministers, and they were half of all in the kingdom. One of the most urgent duties of the Assembly was to make provision for worship and religious instruction in the parishes. Temporary offices had to be added to those of a permanent nature. Of the latter class their Book of Discipline recognized the Minister, or Pastor, the Teacher, and the Ruling Elder, and the Deacon. To these, for the time then being, were added superintendents, and leaders. The former were not appointed for all the kingdom, but only where need required, to travel each through the district assigned him, preaching and supervising the churches and schools, and inspecting the conduct of the parish ministers who joined them. Read-

ers were laymen of piety and good common education, who were directed simply to read the Scriptures to the people, in places where preaching could not be yet provided. As they approved themselves capable, they were encouraged to offer remarks upon what they read, and were then called exhorters. If they continued to improve, they might be admitted to the ministry. Parliament sanctioned the reformed doctrines, offices and worship, but refused assent to the system of discipline.

The second Assembly met in Edinburgh, May 27, 1561. Queen Mary did not arrive in Scotland until August of that year. She came with the purpose to undo all that had been effected by the Reformation. It was not however a clergy, nor politicians, whom she had to encounter, but the multitude of the best, and best educated of her people. A highly accomplished woman, of unscrupulous artifice, her reign utterly failed in its great aim, as it was also most unhappy for herself, from its inherent perversity and folly. General Assemblies were held regularly twice a year throughout her reign, and continued the improvement of discipline and authority.

During all that reign, as well as the preceding two years, and the succeeding four, the church of Scotland was indebted chiefly to the wisdom, energy and integrity of John Knox.

In the reign of Mary the revenues, which had belonged to the Romish establishment, were divided by Parliament into three equal parts, two of which were given to support the ejected Romish clergy, as long as they lived, while one-third was to be divided equally between the Queen and the Protestant clergy.

Mary's misgovernment and personal follies gave occasion to an organized resistance, which she encountered in arms only to be defeated. She fled to England and took refuge with her cousin Elizabeth, who held her a prisoner all the rest of her days. The kingdom, in the minority of her son, was governed by regents; first by her half-brother, the earl of Murray, a pupil of Buchanan, and one of the best of the reformed nobility, about two years and a half from her abdication in 1567; then by the Earl of Lennox, paternal grandfather of the young

king, from January, 1570 until September, 1571, then by the Earl of Mar until October, 1572, followed by Douglas, Earl of Morton, until March, 1578, when the king, though only twelve years of age assumed the government himself. Thus, the Scottish monarchy, in the time of the Reformation, was feeble and of little influence in the course of religious affairs, and that little of no benefit.

As the retired Popish Bishops passed away, it became necessary more permanently to dispose of their revenues. Certain of the nobility, with the Earl of Morton at their head, wished to appropriate most of the amount to their own use. A plan was devised whereby upon the death of a Catholic bishop, some submissive hireling should be put into his place to keep up the form of the office, draw the revenue of the see, and pay over the principal part of it to the nobleman, his patron, who should protect him in the enjoyment of the remainder. The method, which was called by the country people *Tulchan*, succeeded only as long as enforced by the Earl of Morton. The last words of John Knox to the General Assembly were levelled against it. That great leader of the Scottish Reformation died on the 24th of November, 1572.

In July, 1574, Andrew Melville returned from the continent, and forthwith connected himself with the party which condemned the new style of bishops, and labored consistently to have every trace of diocesan episcopacy removed from the church. By the Assembly of June 1578 action was taken against Prelacy in any shape, and it was enacted that no new bishops should be made. By the Assembly of 1580, Prelacy was condemnd as unscriptural, and those who held such "pretended office" were charged to demit it immediately. By the Assembly of April, 1581, a more regular distribution was made of the church into Parishes and Presbyteries. The six hundred churches were classified in fifty Presbyteries, and the Presbyteries into seventeen Diocies: and the "Book of Policie," or of disciple was revised and sanctioned. Also a confession of faith was issued by the Assembly, subscribed by the king and published by royal Proclamation.

Attempts on the part of the government to constrain the church into compliance with its policy agitated the

country for a few years, in which the meetings of Assembly were suspended from Oct., 1583 until May, 1586.

In 1589, the king went abroad, to be married to the daughter of the King of Denmark. Upon his return he manifested the most exalted devotion to the Reformed Church of Scotland; and in the same spirit continued two or three years. In 1592, Parliament ratified the constitution of the Presbyterian Church as the national establishment, and appointed General Assemblies to be held once every year, or oftener, if occasion should require.

But King James could not surrender his purpose of turning the church into an instrument for effecting his own plans of government. He began by attempts to create an aristocratic ambition among the ministers, and in 1598 ventured to propose a superior ecclesiastical rank, by giving some of them a place in Parliament, with the title of bishop. Although the Assembly opposed the measure, persons were found to accept the distinction. Parliament sustained the King. A controversy arose between him and the Assembly, in the course of which he was sustained by succeeding to the throne of England. He used his augmented power to suppress the constitution of the Church of Scotland. The same course was pursued by his successor. From 1603 until 1638 there was not one free meeting of Assembly; and those who defended the cause were subjected to punishment. Melville was committed to the tower of London, and liberated only to be driven into exile. The ministry of the church was to be constituted a prelatical hierarchy for political purposes, to subserve a despotic system of kingcraft, and doctrines not conformable to that system were to be blotted out.

THE CHURCHES OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND UNDER THE UNION OF THE CROWNS.

James VI. of Scotland succeeded Elizabeth on the throne of England on the 24th of March, 1603, and was crowned at Westminister, July 25th of that year. As respects the churches, he abandoned the Presbyterian, and threw himself entirely into the interest

of the Anglican Episcopal, thereby disappointing also both Puritans and Catholics. With the increased wealth and places of office and emolument, now at his disposal, he secured the compliance of some of the most powerful nobility who had formerly opposed his measures, and some others, who received nothing, were equally compliant from expectation. Scotland was thus, for two successive reigns, held under oppression of a nonresident monarch, the former secure from their number, and the latter by absence, and supported by the resources of the stronger country. The king also stretching his royal authority beyond the bounds of previous example, erected a court of High Commission for Scotland similar to that which had been constituted for England, in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Anglican church was still divided into the two parties of Prelatic and Puritan, the latter favoring more or less a Presbyterian form of church government, and the former, the divine right of kings, and the duty of implicit obedience on the part of their subjects. The Prelatists accordingly enjoyed the full favor of King James; and to their principles all other parties were to be compelled to conform. His purpose in respect to the Puritans was coarsely but plainly declared at a conference which he held at Hampton Court, Jan. 14, 1604.

The bitter disappointment of the Catholics found expression in the formation of a plot which certainly could not have met the approbation of anything like a majority of their number. In the second year after James' arrival in England, 1605, Parliament was to meet on the 5th of Nov., the King would be present to open the session, and would be accompanied, as was expected, by the Prince of Wales. At that juncture it was designed to blow up the Parliament House with gunpowder, many barrels of which were secretly deposited in the cellars beneath. The plot was discovered in time to be defeated.

Although suffering much oppression, the Puritans withheld from disloyalty, and the greater part of them remained in the established church. Their cause was sustained by the new translation of the Bible, a work sanctioned by the king, but certainly not with a view to

that end. A new impulse to Biblical studies was created by the particular method in which that work was conducted, being distributed in the hands of a great number of learned men, at the principal seats of learning, while appeals were published to all the learned throughout the kingdom to aid in it, by contributing any suggestions which occurred to them. The plan was proposed by Dr. Reynolds, in the conference at Hampton Court, in 1604, and the new translation was published by Robert Barker, London in 1611. It was followed by a group of the greatest divines that the English Church has ever seen.

Hitherto Puritans and Prelalists had not differed much on essential doctrine; but that little was gradually increasing. Within the reign of James, Arminianism, introduced from Holland, found most favor among the Prelatists, while the Puritans adhered severely to Calvinism.

The tyranny of James, and especially his interference with religious freedom, alienated multitudes of his people; and when he died in 1625, his dominions were in an agitated and dissatisfied condition.

Charles I. pursued the same policy, but with less caution. Laboring to crush nonconformity, he provoked into open resistance both the Puritans, now a powerful party in the Anglican Church, and the people of Scotland. Under the advice of Laud, Bishop of London, and, from 1633, Archbishop of Canterbury, the position of the Prelatic party was carried back towards Romanism and into Arminian doctrine. In opposition to the strictness with which the Puritans kept the Lord's day, a book was issued under authority of royal proclamation, in which ministers of the gospel were enjoined to exhort their parishioners to enjoy themselves on that day in dancing, archery, and various other amusements. The narrowest censorship was exercised over the press, and even over the private expression of opinion, with penalties painful and degrading. In the service of such a despotism, the Court of High Commission became justly odious as an instrument of cruelty and injustice. With the royalist party the doctrine of divine right of kings and implicit obedience on the part of subjects reached

the last degree of audacity. Dr. Roger Manwaring in a sermon preached in 1623, defended the ground that "the King is not bound to observe the laws of the realm concerning the subject's rights and liberties; but his royal word and command, in imposing loans and taxes without consent of Parliament, doth oblige the subject's conscience upon pain of eternal damnation." Charles was pleased with the sermon. It was printed. Parliament condemned it, and ordered its author to prison, declaring him disabled from holding any office in the church or state. When Parliament was dissolved, the king released him, and promoted him to a benefice of great value. Through a religious controversy, the nation was divided on great questions of politics and finance, affecting the most important constitutional rights of Parliament; and the heads of the opposing parties were the King and the representatives of the people. The King acted upon his principles, and ruled without a Parliament for eleven years.

CHURCH OF SCOTLAND UNDER CHARLES I.

In Scotland, every means of crushing out the national Reformed Church, and substituting the Prelacy, designed by James, were carried forward by his successor. Presbyterians who accepted the King's Parliamentary honors were appointed to Episcopal sees, and an archbishop was once more in St. Andrews; but so far with moderation in respect to the insignia or badges of office, and the forms of worship. Application to the King presenting the real sentiments of the Scottish people was made in vain. He followed only the advice of men of his own party. Meanwhile a remarkable religious revival pervaded Scotland, and continued several years.

In 1634, the King visited his native country to obtain the crown, and hold a Scottish Parliament. By those about him he was persuaded that all was now ready for carrying out completely the change in the ecclesiastical establishment. A book of canons was accordingly drawn up according to the views of Laud, and revised by him. With the royal sanction it was printed in Aberdeen, 1635. Next year a liturgy was framed on the model of

the English Prayer Book, and revised by Laud, and without regard to the wishes of the people, a proclamation, issued in Dec. 1636, called upon all faithful subjects to conform to it. July 23, 1637 was appointed for beginning the new service in the new sacerdotal vestments by the new ecclesiastical dignitaries in full array. The attempt was met by a resistance so extensive and pronounced that the government shrunk from further prosecution of their scheme for the time. Military force was lacking to the King, and the terms on which he stood with his English subjects were such that the means for suppressing resistance in Scotland were not easily to be obtained. He sent a commissioner to take such measures as might be necessary to allay the excitement.

Meanwhile, the people of Scotland virtually governed themselves, and leaders were found prepared for the exigency. Alexander Henderson, a minister, and Johnston of Warriston, an eminent lawyer, and others organized committees for conducting the public business of the occasion with regularity. As a bond of national union civil and religious they drew up a covenant, consisting of the acts of Parliament ratifying the constitu- of the Reformed Church of Scotland, and binding the signers to its maintenance and defence. It was first read and signed in a vast assembly in and around the Grey friars Church, Edinburgh, Feb. 28, 1638, and afterwards over the country, north and south. It was hailed with joyful welcome wherever it appeared; but, of course, not by all persons. Those who had submitted to the royal plan of government, and of religion, either disapproved of it, or were indifferent. The smallness of their number is demonstrated by the consistent current of events. The covenant was national, and recognized Christ as head of the church, but obligated also "to the defence of our dread sovereign the King's Majesty, his person and authority, in the defence and preservation of the foresaid true religion, liberties, and laws of the kingdom."

A general assembly met at Glasgow in November of that year. Alexander Henderson was moderator. The order of the Reformed Church of Scotland was restored,

Prelacy was abolished; and the Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Synods, and General Assemblies restored to the full enjoyment of their constitutional privileges and powers.

Charles entered Scotland with an army. The Covenanters prepared to defend themselves. A treaty was signed in camp in which the King promised that a free Assembly should be called forthwith, and a Parliament convened to determine finally all the ecclesiastical and civil affairs of Scotland. The Assembly met. It renewed the Covenant, which was signed by the King's Commissioner; and confirmed the act of the Assembly of Glasgow, in declaring Prelacy unlawful in that church. Parliament coincided with the Assembly; and the royal commissioner dissatisfied, prorogued it, and hastened to his master.

The King now determined to crush the covenanters. An English Parliament was called to provide the means. Parliament insisted upon a redress of English grievances first. The King dismissed them, and proceeded by means of loans and arbitrary exactions, with some voluntary contributions of friends, to raise an army, which he equipped to the number of 21,000 men. Again he marched towards Scotland. The Covenanters met and defeated him at Newburn. Constrained by the difficulties he had himself evoked, the disaffection of his people and the necessities of his exchequer, and dreading to meet the representatives of the English people, he proposed to a convention of the nobles to vote him supplies. But they, although ready, many of them, to contribute of their own means, could not put their hands to the public revenue. Reduced to the last necessity, he called another English Parliament, which met on the third of November, 1640.

REFORMATION IN IRELAND.

When Henry VIII. broke off his relations with Rome, he had to establish his supremacy not only in England, already largely anti-papal, but also in strongly papal Ireland. The means employed were not well calculated to convert errorists, or to conciliate good will They com-

menced by the consecration of an anti-papal archbishop of Dublin, in March, 1535, and a demand that the royal supremacy should be acknwledged by the authorities civil and ecclesiastical. It was vigorously resisted by the Romanists, and the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of Ireland, was leader of the opposition. In a Parliament, called next year, the royalist party proved strong enough to secure a vote, and declared all who maintained the Papal supremacy guilty of high treason. Some of the religious houses were immediately "dissolved, and their revenues vested in the crown" Counter instructions were received from Rome, and disobedience of the royal command instigated from the highest quarter. Instead of carrying scriptural instruction to the Irish people, and adapting it to their capacity, the English Church went into Ireland with new orders of lords bishops and archbishops, thrust into the place of those already existing, with royal authority to enforce itself, and to inflict the penalties of noncompliance. Instead of learning the language of the people, to reach their understandings, it ordered the preaching to be done in English, and forbad its promotion to all who could not comply with that rule. Irishmen, without instruction in the doctrines of the reformation, saw the property of the church wherein they had been born, seized and turned to the use of one, to which they were strangers, and which appeared among them as the heretical faith of conquerors, whom they hated. The cause of Reformation in Ireland was seriously prejudiced, by interference of government, from the beginning, and made little progress, except by immigration from England. In the reign of Elizabeth, the Anglican church was set up as the establishment of Ireland, but continued exotic. The whole island was conquered, but very far from being reduced to order. Most of it lay in a lamentable state of poverty, desolation and barbarism. The English settlements on the eastern coast were continually harrassed by attacks from the natives. In the province of Ulster the disorder and desolation reached the greatest extreme. There Shan O'Neill, in the reign of Elizabeth, aimed at establishing himself as king of Ireland, by plundering and laying waste the ter-

ritory of neighboring chiefs. His career was stopped by assassination. Early in the reign of James, a conspiracy to expell the English was formed chiefly by the northern nobles, who applied to France and Spain for aid. It was discovered before the time appointed for its execution. Its leaders, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel, fled and left their vast estates at the mercy of the king. A second attempt resulted in a similar way, and the death of its chief, O'Dogherty, threw his estates also into the hands of the government. The O'Neill, the largest land owner in both counties of Down and Antrim, saved about one-third of his estates, by yielding the rest to persons who interceded for him with the king. Thus a large extent of territory, almost desolated by reciprocal plunder of its former lords, was annexed to the possessions of the crown.

With this begins a new period in the history of the Protestant church in Ireland. The king resolved to settle his waste lands in Ulster with loyal men from England and Scotland. Colonization commenced in and about the year 1610, and progressed rapidly. English Episcopalians and non-conformists and Scottish Presbyterians lived together harmoniously, under the same church regulations, drawn up for them by Archbishop Usher, which presented also a liberal side to Catholics. That state of tranquility continued until the commencement of interference by Archbishop Laud. Charles I. having obtained a large amount of money from Ireland, on the promise of certain favors called Graces, to both Catholics and Presbyterians, failed to keep his royal promise. To quell the discontent, thereby created, he sent Sir Thomas Wentworth, as his deputy, who arrived in 1633. Wentworth with much ability and unrelenting severity carried out the purposes of his master, exalting "the royal prerogative on the ruin of the rights and liberties of the people," and was rewarded with a place among the Peerage, as Earl of Strafford. The state of the Irish church was also commended to his special care by Laud, archbishop of Canterbury, whose purpose was to force Ireland as well as England and Scotland into one ecclesiastical formula, consistently with

the views of the king. Of the spiritual despotism then instituted, Strafford made himself the efficient agent. His administration repressed resistance, during its own time; but sowed the seeds of a terrible retribution.

When Charles I., having aroused the spirit of his Scottish subjects, was constrained to convoke an English Parliament, the state of Ireland more alarming than that of Scotland, was found to call for immediate attention. Strafford was then in England, having brought over reinforcements for the royal army, in war with the Covenanters. He would have returned to his vice-royalty; but the king needed his counsel and retained him. Parliament took up his case, immediately after securing the permanence of its own existence. He was impeached by the Commons before the House of Lords; and after trial on charge of high treason, was attainted, and sentenced to death. He was beheaded, May 12, 1641. His deputy in office died soon after, and the government of Ireland was put into the hands of two Lords Justices under authority of Parliament. Efforts were made to redress the grievances of all parties, and the king was constrained to confirm his own royal graces, which he had previously offered, and withheld. But the Catholic Irish, brooding over wrongs of earlier times, and exasperated by late acts of regal perfidy, and administrative injustice, had already plotted a rebellion, which was now pushed forward, by the force of various motives, all centering in the one purpose, to exterminate the Protestant population and government. The plot failed in Dublin; but took effect with terrible cruelty and indescribable scenes of slaughter in the province of Ulster. It broke out in October, 1641. And in less than six months the Protestant churches of that part of the kingdom were completely extinguished.

In the course of next Summer, (1642), the forces of rebellion were defeated by an army brought from Scotland. The soldiers of that army, being Presbyterians, in accordance with their own wishes were constituted a church, the elders being elected and ordained from their officers. After that example, when the Presbyterian ministers began to return from Scotland, to which they

had fled, and the Scottish settlers once more to occupy their homes, their churches were organized, not on the plan of compromise with Episcopacy, but as purely Presbyterian.

From that date events occurred which, for several years, united the cause of the churches in Ireland with those of England and Scotland, interesting all alike in certain great political and military movements, and rendering one narrative, in the main, common to all three.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT.

The new Parliament, which Charles I. under constraint of irresistible necessity had called, met at West minister on the third of November, 1640. It consisted of men who were members of the Established Church, and well affected towards the government, zealous for reformed doctrine and worship, and for the constitutional rights of Englishmen. As a legislative body, it was perhaps never surpassed in wisdom, gravity, patriotism and christian information. Other Parliaments, in the course of that reign, had been called, and failing to comply with the king's demands, had been summarily dismissed; that which now met resolved to continue its sessions until redress of national grievances should be secured; and to that subject insisted upon turning attention, before the question of subsidies could be entertained. On the same day on which the act of attainder was passed against Strafford, "The king gave his assent to a law whereby he bound himself not to adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve the existing Parliament without its own consent." That Parliament recognized the cause of the Scots, and of the Irish as identical with their own.

In the beginning, so obvious and glaring were the evils demanding attention, that little division of opinion was evoked. Only at the opening of the second term, in the latter part of 1641, did the existence of two parties, conservative and reformatory, make its appearance, a distinction, which exists in British politics to this hour.

Matters of church and state were so intimately united, and usurpations upon both so numerous and flagrant, that one of the earlist acts of the Long Parliament

was necessarily to appoint a committee of religion. The Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission were abolished, and the principal advisors of the king were impeached on charge of treason. Finch, the Lord Keeper, and Windbank, the Secretary of State, fled to the Continent, Strafford was tried, attainted and executed, Laud, the Primate, was consigned to prison. His trial, July, 1644, was followed by attainder in November of that year, and his execution in January following.

In Feb., 1642 the spiritual Lords were excluded from their place in Parliament, and from secular offices. The Lords temporal continued to coöperate with the Commons.

The king becoming impressed with a conviction that Parliament intended to hedge him round with restrictions thought it prudent to come to peace with his Scottish subjects. During the recess of Parliament in the autumn of 1641, he visited Scotland, and consented to give up his plans for the church, and even sanctioned an act declaring Episcopacy contrary to the word of God.

Petitions were presented to Parliament by the people and clergy of London, and by the Puritan clergy in general, praying for removal of the grievances of the church. In September, 1642, an act was passed, whereby after the fifth of November next year, the Episcopal ceased to be the established church of England.

THE ASSEMBLY AT WESTMINSTER.

In view of that change, an Assembly of 121 of the most learned divines of the kingdom, with thirty lay assessors—being ten lords and twenty commoners—was called to meet at Westminster, to advise with Parliament on matters concerning the church. The Assembly met on the first of July, 1643, and continued in full operation until February, 1649, a period of five years, six months and twenty-two days, and comprehending eleven hundred and sixty-three sessions. A part of it held together, as a committee for examination, ordination and induction of ministers, until March 25, 1652, when Parliament being dismissed, the remnant of the Assembly also dispersed, without any formal act of dissolution.

In that Assembly there were men of Presbyterian views, Prelatists, Independents, and a few Erastians. Presbyterianism was soon found to be the doctrine of the majority, and that was enlarged by four clerical commissioners from the Church of Scotland, and nine laymen, only three or four of whom, however, attended. The Episcopal Divines withdrew before the bringing in of the Covenant from Scotland; and at the end of four years, the Independents and Erastians, who were still fewer, and differed from the majority on church government, also withdrew. Presbyterianism prevailed also in Parliament, but there had a weightier opposition from the side of the Independents, who were subsequently strengthened by the overmastering independent element of the Parliamentary army.

The Scottish General Assembly, which met on the 2nd of August, 1643, was attended by commissioners sent by the English Parliament, some of whom were civilians, to transact business with the Scottish convention, and some were ministers, to confer with the Assembly. One result of those conferences was the celebrated bond of union in the cause of religion, between the two countries, called "The Solemn League and Covenant." Sanctioned by the Assembly in Scotland, August 17, it was carried to London, and on the 25th of September signed by the English Assembly and Parliament. Next year, (1644) it was signed by the Protestants of Ireland.

Of the works of the Westminster Assembly the first to be undertaken was the revisal of the thirty-nine Articles. But, after advancing as far as the fifteenth, that was abandoned, and an entirely new confession undertaken. For that purpose, a committee was appointed in May, 1645, who prssented the work complete in November, 1646. After being thoroughly discussed and amended by the Assembly, it received their sanction in May, 1647. It was then carefully revised, article by article, by the Houses of Lords and Commons, and published in June, 1648. A Directory for Worship was also prepared, and a Form of Church government; and, for purposes of instruction, two Catechisms, a larger and a

shorter, the former intended as the basis of doctrinal exposition from the pulpit, and the latter as a popular manual. The Shorter Catechism was presented to Parliament in November, 1647, and the Larger, in April following.

These works were put forth simply as "the humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, by authority of Parliament, sitting of Westminster." As such they were offered to all who might freely accept them. No ecclesiastical authority pretended to impose them on the world. And no anathemas were pronounced against those who might reject them. But they were soon accepted, in whole or in part, by such ecclesiastial bodies as conferred upon them the greatest weight of that kind.

A metrical version of the Psalms was also approved by the same venerable body. It was prepared by Francis Rous, a member of the Long Parliament, and also a lay member of the Assembly. Proposed by the House of Commons to the consideration of the Divines, November 20, 1643, it was by them, after much discusaion and many amendments, returned to Parliament, November 14, 1645, with the opinion that might be "useful and profitable to the church," "if permitted to be publicly sung." It was accordingly authorized by a vote of both Houses.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, which met at Edinburgh, August 4, 1647, accepted the Westminster Confession, with the Catechisms, as doctrinal symbols of the church which it represented, and took into consideration the metrical "paraphrase" of the Psalms "brought from England." For that latter purpose a committee was appointed to examine the new version and compare it with those of Zachary Boyd, of Sir William Mure of Rowallan, and others. It was finally "authorized for Scotland by the General Assembly and the Commission of Estates in the beginning of the year 1650."

The Scottish Assembly of 1647 also approved the Directory for Public Worship, and the Form of Church Government, which had been framed, indeed, upon the model of their own.

The works of the Westminster Assembly were also accepted by the Presbyterians in Ireland; and, with the

exception of the Form of Church Government, by the colonists in New England, at the Synod of Cambridge, 1648. In England, the Confession and Catechisms became the doctrinal standards of the Puritans, Congregational and Baptist, as well as Presbyterian.

Meanwhile the religious harmony of the majority of his people was working the overthrow of the despotic king. Encouraged by the high Prelatists, the passive submission party, and some of the nobility, he maintained for a time an angry controversy with Parliament, and as he could not dissolve it, attempted to defeat its action by invasion of its privileges. The sheriffs of London with the train-bands prepared to protect the Parliament, whereupon the king withdrew from the city. Both parties began to collect military stores, and raise forces. Open war was commenced August 23, 1642, by the raising of the royal standard at Nottingham. At the head of the Parliamentary army was the Earl of Essex. For nearly two years the advantage was chiefly on the side of the king. But skilful officers grew up in the Parliamentary army, Sir William Waller, the Fairfaxes, Cromwell and others. The victories became more equally divided, and a well trained Covenanter army, under command of General Leslie, gradually made its way from Scotland, and joined that of the Parliament on the plains of Marston Moor, in Yorkshire. It was on the eve of a battle, in which the best leaders on each side were at the head of their respective troops. One part of the Parliamentary army under Fairfax and Gen. Leslie was defeated by Prince Rupert; but the other under David Leslie and Oliver Cromwell, not only beat back its immediate opponents, under the Marquis of Newcastle, but afterwards encountered Prince Rupert and turned his victory into most disastrous defeat. From the loss at Marston Moor, July 2, 1644, the royalist cause never entirely recovered; and finally on the 14th of June next, lost every thing in the final battle of Naseby. Though the war was protracted for a few months longer, it was purely a losing game on the royalist side.

In April, 1646, the king went privately and in disguise to the Scottish camp, where he was respectfully

entertained, and resided until the end of January, 1647. But the Scottish army in England was an auxiliary force to that of the Long Parliament, and when the war was closed and the soldiers had received their pay, had only to march home to Scotland, and could not take the king with them, otherwise than by adopting his cause, which they hid come into England to defeat; or by carrying him off as their own prisoner, which they had no right to do. Upon returning home, they accordingly left the king in the hands of his English subjects. Were they to presume that he would be treated with less courtesy by Englishmen than by themselves? And yet they certainly would have taken him with them in triumph to Edinburgh, even at the risk of a war with the Long Parliament, had he but pledged them the freedom of their religion. For subsequently, when he did, though in secret, enter into an engagement with the Scottish Commissioners, to that effect, a new army was raised and sent into England to unite with the royalists in restoring him. The movement was weakened by a well founded distrust in his royal word. At Preston, in Lancashire, August 17, 1648, the army was encountered by Cromwell, who, after defeating it, pursued his march to Edinburgh, and reëstablished friendly relations with the Committee of Estates, renewing and signing the Covenant with them.

When the English army returned to London, the controversy between the king and Parliament had reached a crisis. A majority in Parliament had resolved in favor of measures looking towards restoring the king. A detachment of soldiers, under Col. Pride, interposed, next morning, who arrested a sufficient number of the members to throw the majority on the other side. Upon a reconsideration of the question, it was subsequently resolved to bring the king to trial for murder, tyranny and treason to the constitutional rights of the nation. A tribunal was created for the purpose. He was found guilty, and sentenced to death. His execution followed, on the 30th of January, 1649.

In the progress of the conflict, the Independents had increased in numbers and power, chiefly through their

predominance in the army, but their control of Parliament was secured by violence. They were in favor of a republic, but held to no one general system of government. After the King's death, they ruled the country through the remnant of the House of Commons, and under the name of a commonwealth. The House of Lords was abolished. Cromwell, at the head of the army, put down all opposition in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in England. Presbyterians were monarchists. They had wished to restore the King, with limitations of his power, and now looked to his son as their lawful monarch. In Scotland, Charles II. was openly recognized and crowned, but defeated and driven from the country by Cromwell in the decisive battles of Dunbar and Worcester.

In the course of three years, the government got involved in great embarrassment, the finances were deranged, and the pay of the soldiers fell far in arrears. No sign appeared of remedy from Parliament. Cromwell dismissed the inefficient assemblage, and issued a call for a new election. By a council of officers, with the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London and some other public functionaries, Cromwell was appointed to supreme authority, under the name of Protector. Through the character and force of his own mind, his rule was equally strong and liberal, but was unavoidably absolute, and could not satisfy the nation. All parties were permitted to practice their religion peacefully, on condition of giving their assent to the Engagement, an instrument obligating loyalty to the existing authorities.

The Presbyterian Church had been established in England by act of Parliament, and although set up in fact in only a few places, was, during the commonwealth, the model contemplated in all measures of the general government. Purity of doctrine and life, especially on the part of its ministers, was insisted on, but otherwise great freedom was enjoyed. Cromwell allowed no persecution for religion's sake. His liberal toleration was one of the bitterest charges against him, in his own time. Not the less did he take measures to give effect to the

established church, and to purify it from incompetent, or otherwise improper ministers.

The first step to that end was taken on the 20th of March, 1654, in the appointment of a commission for the trial of public preachers. It consisted of nine laymen and twenty-nine clergymen, selected from the Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, with special view to their prudence, sagacity, and sound christian experience. By those "Triers," as they were called, "any person pretending to hold a church living, or levy tithes or clergy dues in England," was first to be tried and approved, as to his religious knowledge, moral character and ability to teach.

A second step, taken in the following August, consisted in appointing local commissioners, of both clergy and laymen, from fifteen to thirty in each county in England, whose duty it was "to inquire into scandalous, ignorant, insufficient, and otherwise deleterious ministers of the gospel, and to be a tribunal for judging and ejecting them. Persons thus ejected, if married, were to be allowed a small pension."

Still further, to distribute the force of government over the country, and secure the regular working of minor appointments in both church and state, the Protector, in 1655, divided England into ten districts, placing in each, with the title of Major General, a man most carefully chosen, of real wisdom, fearing God and of unimpeachable integrity. These officers were invested with a universal superintendence civil, military, and ecclesiastical. They were to take care that the taxes were collected, to inquire after the private assemblies of suspected persons, and such as frequented taverns and gaming houses, and after scandalous and unlearned ministers and schoolmasters, and to aid the commission in ejecting them. And they were ordered to enlist a body of reserves, at half-pay, who might be called together upon any sudden emergency. There was no appeal from the Major General, except to the Protector himself. This part of the government was only temporary, and when apparently no longer needed, was withdrawn. The commission of Triers continued to sit at

Whitehall until after the Protector's death. In 1659 it was discontinued.

In Scotland there was almost perfect agreement in sustaining the National Presbyterian Church, and little difference on the subject of loyalty to the absent Charles II. Submission to the existing rule was deemed the necessity of an interim. But what at one time had been a bond of union to Scotsmen, now proved to be a cause of dissention. The national Covenant was turned into a religious test, and subscription made indispensable to the holding of any place in the service of the country. During the war with Cromwell, Parliament passed certain resolutions repeating that law. Against those resolutions the stricter party protested. And the quarrel between Resolutioners and Protestors marred the peace of the church and involved it in civil broils. The General Assembly, which met in July, 1652, was so agitated by these causes that it broke up, and its acts were never recorded. It did not meet again during the Protectorate. But Synods and Presbyteries continued to meet as formerly. As in England, so in Scotland means were taken by Cromwell to promote the interests of true religion. Mr. Patrick Gillespie, and some others of the stricter party received a commission empowering them to settle the affairs of the church, and secure its purity. A quiet, but pervasive revival of religion filled up the rest of the Protectorate in Scotland.

Soon after the death of the king, a commission was appointed to set in order the churches of Wales. The spiritual destitution of the Principality was great. And as it was difficult to find a sufficient number of pious and learned ministers able to preach in the Welsh language, itinerant preachers, six for each county, were appointed to supply the deficiency, until the number equal to the parishes could be filled up.

Ireland was virtually divided by geographical limits among the great religious parties, the Presbyterians being chiefly residents of Ulster, the Episcopalians of Leinster, and the Catholics of all the rest. Episcopacy had been the established religion from the Reformation. It ceased to be such under the action of the Long Parlia-

ment, in January, 1643. The terrors of the Catholic rebellion constrained Protestants of every name to make common cause. Cromwell, with terrific severity, compelled the Catholics to submission, confined them to one part of the island, and filled the land taken from them with a more orderly and industrious population. In the prosperity which succeeded, the church participated. Under the lieutenancy of Major General Fleetwood, and still more of Henry Cromwell, the long harassed country enjoyed an interval of wise and benign government.

In New England, the colonists were allowed to establish congregationalism, as the religious system of their choice. A scheme was also projected for carrying the gospel to the North American Indians, which the death of the Protector prevented from going into operation.

It was the purpose of Cromwell to constitute the British Church the centre of a confederation of all the Protestant churches of Europe. His plan, according to Bishop Burnet, was matured, and contemplated common defence against Rome, propagation of the gospel, and the employment of secretaries to "hold correspondence everywhere, to acquaint themselves with the state of religion all over the world, that so all good designs for the welfare of the whole, and of the several parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged." Though this also was defeated by his death, his administration put the British isles into such a leading relation to the Protestant world as they did not again assume until the reign of William III. In this, as in many other respects, the Revolution was the true successor of the Commonwealth, less earnest and daring, but more cautious, expedient, and successful.

Cromwell died on the anniversary of his great victories of Dunbar and of Worcester, September 3, 1658. His son Richard was put up as his successor, a man without either capacity or ambition to rule, and who was soon set aside. The officers of the army demanded the reassembling of the Long Parliament. "Of the one hundred and sixty members, who had continued to sit after the King's death, about ninety returned to their

seats, and resumed the administration of affairs." They remembered too well their expulsion by arms seven years before, and returned to their old quarrel, and especially demanded the dismissal of Generals Fleetwood and Lambert. The army drove them again from their seats, and under their favorite officers marched northward to meet General Monk, who was understood to be advancing from Scotland.

Monk, who thus fell into the place of power in the army, and who had carefully taken all the necessary precautions to secure it, continued his march, and entered London without opposition. With many protestations of respect, he called the remaining members of the old Parliament once more, and on this occasion, the survivors of those who had been excluded by Col. Pride resumed their places. Their action was legally to dissolve their own organization, after having resolved on the election of a new House of Commons.

The Convention Parliament proved to be predominantly Presbyterian, took the Solemn League and Covenant, and proceeded to draw up terms on which the king might be restored. Meanwhile General Monk had taken the matter into his own hand, and by secret correspondence with Charles had prepared the way for his return. All exaction of terms was thereby rendered impossible. "The Declaration of Breda, which promised a general pardon, religious toleration, and satisfaction to the army," was all the limitation of his power with which the son of Charles I., in May, 1660, returned to his father's throne. And simultaneously the old constitution was restored by vote of the Convention. The vote was unnecessary; for with the monarch, returned all the old monarchical machinery.

THE BRITISH CHURCHES IN THE RESTORATION.

Presbyterians, in possession of power, expected to retain their place in the restored establishment, under the king, and were prepared to yield something to their Episcopalian partners, in order to secure that end. A moderate Episcopacy, on Usher's plan, would have suited the views of most of them.

In this respect the English Presbyterians differed from those of Scotland. The latter had by their history been taught to regard Episcopacy as an enemy, and consistently opposed and repelled its approaches in every shape ; the former, having grown up side by side with it, in the same establishment, would have been content to remain there, had its claims and exactions been moderated to tolerate them. And it cannot be denied that Presbyterians, when in power, although intolerant of other sects extended a large liberality to Episcopalians, who practiced their religion quietly, and without offence to the government. A large number of Episcopalians, were actually in the ministry under the Presbyterian rule, when the restoration occurred. It was therefore not unreasonable of them to expect such measure as they had meted. Episcopacy was, in their eyes, a brotherhood, with whom they were to live together in unity. The Church of England was their common home, which they agreed to love. Leading Episcopalians knew that fact well, and counted upon it as a power for enforcing upon them conformity with their own views.

About the middle of June, 1660, a few of the Presbyterians applied to the king to obtain a conference between them and the Bishops, with the view of entering into a compromise which should be satisfactory to both. The royal consent was given, and the meeting took place. But no compromise could be effected. The old laws for uniformity of worship were put in force. Upon further application to the king, he ordered a Declaration to be drawn up, with a view to relieve the agrieved, which, after another conference had discussed it, was issued Oct. 25, 1660. It failed of attaining its purpose.

Meanwhile a new Parliament had met. It soon evinced a spirit of bitter hostility to everything Puritan. In addition to the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, another was now enacted, to be taken by all persons in all places of magistracy in the kingdom. By that oath the candidate abjured the Solemn League and Covenant, declared that he believed it unlawful, upon any pretense, to take up arms against the king, and was laid under obligation to take the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper,

according to the Episcopal rite, within one year after his election. Commissioners were appointed to visit the several corporations of England, and turn out all who were found in the least degree distasteful to the government.

It was in 1661 that the final conference was held, on this subject, between some leaders of the Puritans and Prelatists, in the chapel of the Bishop of London, in what is called the Savoy. They were authorized to review the Book of Common Prayer, to advise and consult together, and to make such alterations in it as might seem to them desirable, and "expedient for giving satisfaction to tender consciences, and the restoring and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under his majesty's government." Their sessions were allowed to continue four months from March 25th, and at the close the King was to be presented with the results, for his final decision. Twenty-one delegates were appointed on each side. Their first meeting took place on the 15th of April.

Nothing was accomplished to the end for which the conference was called. The Prayer Book was revised by the Puritan divines, but all the changes proposed were rejected by the other party. Subsequently, a few changes were made by the Prelates themselves, and the whole liturgy then brought to the state in which it now stands, was subscribed by both houses of convocation of both provinces, Dec. 20, 1661, and established by act of Parliament, in March following. In these acts not the slightest regard was had to the Presbyterians. The Prayer Book was to be enforced as the only form of worship tolerated in England. Each minister was required to sign a declaration that he truly believed and approved all that was contained in it. And Episcopal ordination was made indispensable to any place in the ministry of the English Church. This act of uniformity went into operation as law on St. Bartholomew's day, August 24, 1662, when not less than two thousand ministers chose to quit their livings rather than subscribe to its conditions; and these were additional to those extruded before the act was passed.

The restored king was a man of no religion, of no earnest moral purpose; the profligacy of his life was a free unscrupulous abandonment. Public offices were, in general, filled with men of his own stamp, whose supreme law was the royal will, and who shrunk from no injustice to give it effect, without troubling him about details. Especially were persons who lived godly lives exposed to suffering and contempt. The example of a profligate court was followed with abundant docility by the fashionable public. Literature became a pander to depravity; and theology suffered from the contact. The rich and profound treatises of the preceding generation gave place, in course of time, to teachings of a shallower school.

To the Presbyterians of England the changes made at the restoration, and the subsequent progress of events were most disastrous. Turned out of the established church, they were not permitted to form the organization proper to themselves, and were thereby broken into separate congregations. Under the common name of non-conformists, they suffered great oppression, until relieved, in some degree, by the revolution. Their strength and organization they never recovered. In course of time, from lack of common government, their churches fell into error, and lost also their orthodox faith.

In England, Episcopacy had a strong hold upon a large body of the people, including a wealthy aristocratic class, and the men who chiefly controled the revenues of the church, as well as in the prescriptive position of a former occupancy. In Scotland the case was very different. There it had never obtained a place, to any degree, in the hearts of the people. And yet in that kingdom it was the purpose of the general government to plant it. At first it had not even a plea for intrusion, save the advantage which was contemplated in constraining all the people of the British isles into one religion. An agent for the purpose was found in a Presbyterian minister, who sent from Scotland to London in the interest of the Scottish church, proved traitor to the cause. James Sharp, together with three others received Episco-

pal consecration in London, and returned to plant Anglicanism in Scotland. With that beginning, bishops were arbitrarily set over the kingdom, and archbishops in St. Andrews and Glasgow, with Sharp as the Primate. The ministers of the parishes, who submitted to the intrusive system, might retain their places under a new title; but those who declined to conform were extruded, and their places filled with more compliant subjects. The parishoners, in general, preferred to follow their pastors. Government found that, having imposed a new clergy upon the people, they had also to compell the people to attend their ministrations, and measures were taken accordingly.

The new privy council, instituted to manage the affairs of Scotland, sustained the prelates in all their measures. Fines were imposed upon all persons who did not attend the church of their own parish, or who attended the preaching of the ejected ministers anywhere. And inasmuch as multitudes preferred to pay the fines and enjoy such preaching as was felt to be profitable, the fines were increased, and military were sent to exact them. These acts were followed by another to enforce the signing of a declaration condemning the covenant, without which no person was to be eligible to any place of trust.

In 1664, the Court of High Commission was restored and endowed by the king with most extensive authority. It was empowered to punish all deposed ministers, who presumed to preach, all attenders of conventicles, and all who wrote, spoke, preached or printed against Prelacy, and in general to do and execute what they should find necessary and convenient for his Majesty's service in the premises. It consisted of thirty-five laymen and nine prelates, five constituted a quorum, one of whom must be a prelate, and all might be, and prelates alone had professional interest in carrying out its objects. In that court, thenceforward, resided the chief authority of persecution. Archbishop Sharp was the head of it. A real inquisition, it obtained intelligence of every sincere and consistent Presbyterian throughout the land, oppressed at will, and passed sentence, if deemed expedient, upon mere accusation, without trial, or even hearing of the accused.

One of the bishops thus intruded, was Robert Leighton, a man of eminent piety and learning. Soon perceiving the unchristian nature of the measures under which they were acting, he sought to resign his office. Urgently persuaded, he withdrew his resignation, and was appointed archbishop of Glasgow. But finally, in 1670, with much distress of mind, under the feeling that he and his colleagues were fighting against God, he absolutely resigned, and withdrew to England.

An evidence also that the King was himself beginning to doubt the expediency of the bloody work going on among his northern subjects, appeared in the indulgence which was issued from Whitehall in June 1669. It authorized the council "to appoint so many of the outed ministers as have lived peaceably and orderly in the places where they have resided, to return and preach and exercise other functions of their ministry in the parish churches where they formerly resided and served, provided they be vacant." Some of the ministers accepted of the deceitful favor. Others justly regarded it as only a means of beguiling into compliance with the intrusive system. Such indulgences were repeated; but in the same spirit, and without diminishing the severities upon those who could not be bribed to desert the cause of their church and the constitution of their country.

A quarter of a century of awful suffering wasted the most worthy population of Scotland—that very class of the people, which, if ruled with a moderate degree of wisdom, would have been the most profitable to the national wealth. Some were ruined by fines, some were imprisoned, some banished, some were driven into exile, some were sent into the colonies and sold for slaves, and many were put to torture, and ignominious deaths. In the midst of such cruel and prolonged oppression, the people refrained from rebellion, and only in one instance were any of them provoked into a fatal act of violence, and that in the assassination of Archbishop Sharp. The rising at Pentland was only an assemblage of countrymen for their common protection against the bands of soldiers, who were plundering the country. And that which commenced at Drumclog was a worshipping congregation driven to

self-defence by an attack of military. The persecution became more reckless of even the forms of law, as it went on, and finally, troops of cavalry, under such leaders as Bruce of Earlshall and John Graham of Claverhouse, traversed the country plundering and shooting men and women whom they suspected of the proscribed faith, wherever they met them. The death of Charles in 1685, wrought no relief for the Covenanters of Scotland. The indulgences of his successor were not for them. Some of the most notorious acts of atrocity were perpetrated in the reign of James II.

The cries of non-conforming England, and of covenanting Scotland, raised day and night to heaven, seemed long to have been raised in vain. James II. took a step which brought down the retribution upon himself and his dynasty, and with it the relief of his people. With the intention of building up Catholicism, he applied the force of authority to Anglican Prelacy. On the first attempt coërcion, the bishops raised such a remonstrance as to arouse the indignation of their party against the king. For the moment, they threw themselves on the side of those whom they had been oppressing for eight and twenty years. The protestant heir of the crown was invited to England. James fled to France. And before they were fully aware, the Prelates had helped to seat a Presbyterian on the throne.

Some of the bishops in England, and all of them in Scotland, when they perceived the result, were confounded and indignant, and refused to acknowledge the new king. But it was too late for regret. The last of the Stuart kings had gone, never to return. The last victim of their oppression in Scotland, was executed on the 17th of February, 1688. The Revolution was secured. And the long apparently hopeless struggle of the Covenanters was victorious at last. They were restored to their place as the established church of Scotland.

CHURCHES IN THE BRITISH ISLES DURING THE REVOLUTION.

James II. was an earnest Catholic, in which faith also his brother Charles died. After two years of oppressive government, continuing the policy of his predecessor,

James obtained from an "obsequious bench of judges the decision that he had power to dispense with the penal laws in particular cases," and thought that the way was prepared for reinstating his co-religionists in authority, and began to take measures accordingly. His first step was to relieve them from legal disabilities; but to extend such a favor to them, and not to other dissenters would unite against him all denominations of Protestants. In 1687, he issued, in rapid succession, three indulgences, first permitting moderate Presbyterians to meet for worship, but still withholding toleration from those who had no place of worship but the fields; and secondly, removing all laws against Catholics, and making them eligible to all offices of trust and honor in the land. This appeared on the 12th of February. In the succeeding two of March 31 and June 28, the favors of the first were professedly extended, but with the same exception, and all by the "sovereign authority, prerogative royal, and absolute power" of the crown.

Anglican Prelates could not fail to see the purpose of the King's policy. Finally, on the fourth of May, 1688, an order of council was issued commanding the ministers of the established church to read from their pulpits a declaration of liberty of conscience, which had been published a few days before. Some of them refused to comply, on the ground that the declaration was illegal. Seven of the bishops, with the Primate at their head, presented a petition to the king containing their reasons for what they had done. The king sent them to the tower of London; and thereby aroused the whole Episcopal body to the greatest excitement, under which they rushed into revolt against their own doctrine of passive obedience. Royalty had violated the privilege of the English Church.

In June, 1688, the seven bishops were tried on charge of publishing a "seditious, false and malicious libel." Great was the excitement among the people; and when the bishops were acquitted, the king was virtually defeated on the ground of his whole policy. On the next day, June 30th, certain noblemen subscribed in cipher an address to the Prince of Orange, inviting him to come over, and put himself at the head of a nation

impatient to welcome him. More formal proposals followed. William arrived on the fifth of November: and on the night of the twenty-second of December, James stole secretly away.

William's right to the throne was through his wife, Mary, the eldest daughter of James II. He was himself third in succession. But the source of his power lay in the choice of the people whom he ruled, and his own prudence and liberality, whereby he recognized constitutional limitations.

During the twenty-eight years, which thus closed, according to the most competent authority, more than eighteen thousand persons had suffered for the Presbyterian cause, in Scotland, by imprisonment, exile, slavery and death; besides the desolation spread over the country by fines, assessments, and the lawless plunder of soldiery, by which whole districts were almost turned into a wilderness.

Towards the end of 1688, it was rumored, that the deposed king was raising the Catholic Irish for invasion of Scotland. The Privy Council accordingly issued a proclamation requiring all Protestant subjects to arm, and put themselves in a state of self defence. After that act of December 24, 1688, the Scottish Privy Council, so long the engine of persecution, came to an end, by natural dissolution. The rumor of invasion proved unfounded. But being organized and left to themselves the troops took occasion to remove some of the Prelatic curates, who had been forced upon them. It was much to their credit in the circumstances, that they injured neither life nor personal property.

By authority of King William, a convention, freely representing all classes of Protestants in Scotland, met in Edinburgh, March 14, 1689. The revolution was recognized, and William and Mary were proclaimed on the eleventh of April. Parliament assembled June 5th, and recognizing the work of the Convention, passed an act "abolishing Prelacy, and all superiority of any office in the church in this kingdom above Presbyters."

Meanwhile Graham of Claverhouse, recently made Viscount Dundee by King James, was marching with an

army southwards from the central Highlands. He was encountered, July 7, 1689, by General Mackay, at the pass of Killiecrankie, where he was slain, his troops dispersed, and the insurrection he had raised brought to a sudden termination.

Next year, 1690, various acts were passed by Parliament restoring the constitution of the church on the foundation of the acts of 1592, and declaring that the church government be "in the hands of, and exercised by those Presbyterian ministers, who were outed since the first of January, 1661, and such ministers and elders only as they have admitted and received, or shall hereafter admit and receive." In accordance with these and other acts of similar import, the General Assembly resumed its meetings, October 16, 1690, which have not been interrupted since that day.

Through the latter part of the civil wars, the Presbyterians of Ireland, like those of England and Scotland, defended the cause of the king against the Parliament. When Cromwell was proclaimed Protector, they withdrew opposition to what was to be then regarded as the government of the country. After his death, they took the part of the restoration. By that time, they had in Ulster, about seventy settled ministers, with eighty congregations, and a population of one hundred thousand. As elsewhere, Prelacy was now imposed upon them. Two archbishops for Armagh and Dublin, and ten bishops were consecrated in Dublin, January 27, 1661. Armagh, to which belongs the Primacy, was conferred upon Dr. Bramhall, and in filling the Bishoprics that of Down and Connor was assigned to Jeremy Taylor.

Meetings of Prestytery were now prohibited, and Bishop Taylor commenced the work of oppression by calling upon the Presbyterian ministers to submit to his rule, and when they declined, by ejecting them from their churches, which most of them had built up with their own evangelical labors. Ministers thus ejected were forbidden, under heavy penalties, to preach, exhort, or administer the sacraments anywhere. In the Irish Parliament Presbyterians found few friends. The Prelatic establishment was sustained, to the great hardship of

both Catholic and Protestant dissenters. After the death of Bishop Taylor the severity was, to some degree, relaxed in Ulster, but the condition of the Presbyterian church there remained very precarious and fluctuating, and depended upon the temper of men in power. In 1684 under their deplorable oppression, most of the ministers of Derry and Donegal, thought of removing to America. The death of the king in February following induced most of them to remain, in hopes of better times. They were disappointed. James had his favors for dissenters, but they were for the Catholics. In 1688, the Protestants received information that the Catholics intended to rise in arms and murder them. The inhabitants of Londonderry, Enniskillen and Colraine shut themselves up within the walls of their respective cities. The open country was laid waste, and its people destroyed.

When James fled from England, he trusted that the Popish party in Ireland would be strong enough to sustain a reaction to restore him. He landed at Kinsale, March 12, 1689, to put himself at the head of the insurrection. His lieutenant, Tyrconnel, had already reduced all Ulster, except Londonderry, which was strongly besieged. In August, the Duke Schomberg arrived, and restored tranquility to Ulster. And in June of the next year, (1690,) William landed and took command of his own army. The campaign and battle of the Boyne followed, which, although it did not end the war, decided its issue. James returned to France, and the government of the new king, with its more liberal principles, was set up in Ireland. Henceforward, the working of the revised constitution of the English government gradually prevailed over, though it did not soon bring to an end, that oppression in which the establishment had indulged so long.

In the history of the Reformation, all parties, in the first instance, were under the delusion that the church, in order to be true, must be one, in form of government, in worship and definition of doctrine. They had no idea of the church as separate from the state. Non-conformity with the church established by law was accordingly viewed in the light of a civil offence, if not treason to the

state, and deserving of the severest punishment. 4. And in every country, the party which took the highest ground on the subject of church unity was the most intolerant and persecuting. 5. The church which suffered most—the martyr church of modern times—was the Presbyterian.

The English constitution was now revised and improved. On the subject of religion, the policy of enforcing uniformity was abandoned. An established church was to be retained, but without compulsion to attend upon its worship. Prelacy was recognized as entitled to the ecclesiastical property of the nation, in England and Ireland, and Presbytery in Scotland; but, in both cases, with toleration to dissenters. In New England, Congregationalism was allowed to retain the footing which it had already secured for itself. Certain points of government, which had long been in dispute, were now reconsidered and definitely settled. 1. The king's prerogatives were defined and limited, and his support provided for by a regular salary. 2. Constraint was put upon him to execute the duties of his office through responsible agents, and his authority was to be excluded from the arguments of Parliament. 3. Entire control of the public revenue, both in raising and expending it, was secured to the representatives of the commons. 4. Parliaments were made regular and triennial. 5. The Lords temporal and spiritual were to represent their own order in the common interest, but excluded from all voice in imposing taxes or expending revenue. 6. Judges were no longer to hold office under the royal will, but for life, or good behavior. 7. As respects religion, people were not to suffer penalties for non-attendance at the established church. While one denomination was to be supported by law, and Catholics remained under civil disabilities, all attempts to enforce uniformity were abandoned. 8. And censorship of the press was suffered to expire without renewal.

HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

PERIOD IV. SECTION III. 1648 TO 1790.

The middle of the seventeenth century presents one of those great junctures in history, by which the progress of the church is divided into periods of different characteristics. By the year 1648, Protestant nations had successfully asserted their independence, defined their ecclesiastical position, and adopted their authoritative symbols. Rome, in reactionary conflict, had abandoned the ground of ancient orthodoxy, her defence of semipelagianism, in opposition to Jansen, having crowned the work of Trent. Oriental christians of the so-called Orthodox Catholic Church, although greatly diminished in number, and oppressed under Mohammedan rule, Russia alone sustaining the dignity of an independent Patriarchate, also produced, about the same time, that confession whereby their doctrinal standing was finally declared.

Recent attempts made by Rome to bring the Eastern Church under her dominion had proved as fruitless as all preceding efforts of that kind. The gulf between the Greek and Roman Catholic churches remained as constituted in the eleventh century. The issue of the thirty years war had demonstrated that to hold Romanist and Protestant under one ecclesiastical jurisdiction was not practicable. More distinctly than ever, had it been determined that the current of Church History, as far as those parties were concerned, was to flow in separate channels. By the Peace of Westphalia, the war in Germany between Protestants and Romanists was settled on the principle of a balance of power, the separate existence of Holland, as a protestant nation, was recognized, and the Reformation in the Scandinavian kingdoms assumed as authoritative, Sweden being one of the high contracting parties. The Papal protest was without effect.

The treaty of Westphalia also determined fundamental political maxims for all Europe, to which even

parties then apparently unconcerned in it, or reluctating against it, were, in course of time, constrained to conform. Against the old ambition of universal empire, and of a universal church, systematic opposition was organized. No longer was either Pope or Emperor to be sustained in the ambition of supremacy.

Not all at once could the treaty go into effect. Where Jesuits were strong little regard was had for its conditions. In Bohemia, Silesia and Hungary the Protestant churches were subjected to many unjust restrictions.

In France the Edict of Nantes was still in force, but ill complied with on the part of the government, then in the hands of Cardinal Mazarine, as regent during the minority of Louis XIV. The Jansenist controversy was beginning to inlist attention beyond the bounds of France and the Netherlands; but the principal doctrines, brought thereby into discussion, were already sufficiently defined. Elsewhere, in all Romish countries, Jesuits were the ruling spirits, and had succeeded in reaching the last extremity of the anti-reform reaction.

In Hollaud and Geneva, the Reformed Churches had reached the full day of prosperity. In England, the Puritans had defeated the king, and were about to set up the Commonwealth, in the intereat of a progressive reformation. The Assembly of Divines at Westminster had completed its work, and the last lingering delegates remained only to execute, in a few cases, what had been already enacted. Their Confession, Catechisms, Form of government, and Directory for public worship, had been accepted in Scotland, in the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, and, in all but the Form of government, in New England; and thereby the definitive statement of Reformed doctrine was settled for the English speaking people, outside of the Anglican establishment. A similar service had been, at an earlier day, executed for the Reformed Churches on the continent, and as a whole, by the Synod of Dort; and by the Thirty-nine Articles for the Anglican Church. Lutheran doctrines remained as determined by its two great founders, and as harmonized in the Form of Concord. In the Greek Church, the

Orthodox Confession had received the sanction of the councils of Kieff and of Jassy. And equally conclusive for the Romish Church had been the work of the council of Trent.

Alike in the Greek, Roman and Protestant connections, the middle of the seventeenth century, and especially the year 1648, formed a momentous crisis in the history of doctrine. All the most authoritative confessions were published by that time. The union of church and state remained in force, but their relations were now different in different countries. And although oppression was often exercised by the stronger party, yet the right of each nation to follow the confession of its choice had been distinctly vindicated.

RELATIVE POSITIONS OF THE THREE GREAT BRANCHES OF THE CHURCH.

The position taken by the Greek Catholic Church is that of strict conformity to the ancient, maintained by unvarying hereditary practice, without change or alteration, or addition of any essential particular, since the last true ecumenical council, when the bishops of both east and west met freely and on equal terms. The Greek presents itself as the unchanged Orthodox Catholic Church of antiquity—the only true church. Rome cannot deny that alterations have taken place within her communion, but claims, notwithstanding, to be the only true church, out of which there is no salvation, and to have within herself an infallible guide to all truth, over and above the Scriptures, and a process of apostolical and spiritual development, whereby all the changes she may introduce become as binning as revelation. The Nestorian and Monophysite churches, although deeply corrupted, adhere to their ancient characteristic doctrines; the Nestorian to the separation of the two natures in Christ, and the Monophysites, to the one nature, merging the human in the divine.

The Protestant churches hold that the only true christian doctrine is to be found in the christian Scriptures. They respect the practice of immediately post-

apostolic christians, the doctrinal decisions of classical councils and the writings of the classical fathers, but accept them only in as far as they are found to be conformable with Scripture, which is their sole standard of faith and practice.

All three, Greek, Roman, and Protestant, within their own respective bounds, contain minor divisions, and dissenting sects. But the Protestant alone, although not very consistently, recognizes that fact, and accepts it as a legitimate condition of the church. The other two deny the right of dissent, war against it, and seek to extinguish it; and yet are constrained, under various pleas and disguises, to indulge or submit to it.

In adhering to an absolute conservatism, the Greek Church has produced little for the historian to record: the aggressive spirit of Rome presents more, and more that is interesting; but it is under the freedom and intense activity of the Protestant communities that the richest historical treasures have been accumulated.

THE ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

Since the council of Chalcedon, 451, Oriental christianity has been divided into three great branches, as Greek, or Orthodox Catholic, and the so-called heretical Nestorian and Monophysite communions. The jurisdiction of these sections is not everywhere geographically distinct; but, in the main, the Orthodox occupies the eastern countries of Europe and the extreme west of Asia; the Monophysites the next adjoining portions of Asia together with Egypt and Ethiopia; and the Nestorians, the further east. In western Asia, however, and Egypt, they interramify with each other, having, in many cases, their churches side by side. And Patriarchs of both Orthodox and Monophysite persuasion, in some countries, exercise their jurisdiction over the same district, but in relation to separate pastoral charges.

NESTORIANS.

Of the twenty-five metropolitan sees of which the Nestorian Church, at one time, consisted, with its missians in central Asia, India and China, only fragments

now remain. The most important is a population of about 150,000, who live on the great plain of Oroomiah, in the northwest of Persia, and among the adjoining mountains of Kurdistan. There are also communities of them in the southwest of India, where they have sometimes been called Syrian, or St. Thomas Christians. In both places, Missionaries Roman Catholic and Protestant have recently labored among them with some success, until they are now still further diminished and divided. In the sixteenth century, the Romanists, by force of Portuguese arms, constrained a number of those who lived on the Malabar coast of India to submit to the Pope, and accept changes in their worship and government accordingly. Those who lived further in land, under the protection of native princes, retained their own ancient faith. In the beginning of the present century, they were brought to the notice of the British public by the Rev. Clandius Buchanan who visited them in 1806. A mission of the English Church was soon established at Travancore. Its object at first was simply to revive education and true scriptural knowledge among the clergy, and for many years it proceeded with encouraging success. But between 1832 and 1836, that method was abandoned, and by a decision of the metropolitan bishop of the English Church in India, all recognition of the Syrian christians, as a church, was withheld, and converts from them were to be received as members of the church of England.

The remnant of that ancient people, still residing on the borders of Persia and Turkey were visited in the seventeenth century by Romish missionaries, who succeeded in converting to Papal allegiance the more southern portion of them, called Chaldean christians. The inhabitants of the mountains and of the plain of Oroomiah retained their Nestorian creed and church order. Little was known about them by western protestants until 1830, when they were visited by Smith and Dwight, of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. A mission was in a few years planted on the plain of Oroomiah. It was not designed to attempt any change in the Nestorian order, form of worship or

ancient creed; but to labor for a revival of true practical piety by the promotion of education, scriptural knowledge and evangelical influences, to purify and awaken the old christian church of that denomination. Subsequently however there has grown up among the Nestorians, a new church of Presbyterian character, according to the convictions of the missionaries laboring there.

MONOPHYSISES.

Of the Monophysites there are still three grand divisions, the heads of which are Egypt, Syria, and Armenia, constituting a belt of nations extending from the southern foot of the Caucasus to the southern border of Ethiopia. For Nubia and Abyssinia acknowledge the supremacy of the monophysite Patriarch of Egypt, who makes his residence at Cairo.

The Copts are the descendants of the ancient Egyptian population, who profess Monophysite Christianity, Their number is given variously. The Rev. H. H. Fairall in a letter from Cairo, 1871, estimates them at two hundred thousand. Their church is very corrupt, and has long ago abandoned the duty of instruction. The people are ignorant, and yet are said to be of superior intelligence to the Fellahs, their countrymen, who have adopted Mohammedanism, and who number about two millions.

The second Patriarchate of that connection is governed by the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch, who resides in Diarbekir, at Amida, or sometimes at the monastery of St. Ananias, near Mardin, and whose rule extends also over his coreligionists in Mesopotamia, and the adjoining desert. His power is shared by the Maphrian of Mosul, who formerly vicar of the Patriarch over the churches beyond the Tigris, is still sometimes called Primate of the East, but is now only nominally superior to a metropolitan.

The third division of the Monophysites is constituted by the peculiar views of the Armenians. Chief of their connection is a Patriarch Catholicus, whose readence is at Etchmiadzin. Two other patriarchs, of more limited jurisdiction, reside respectively at Cis, in Cilicia, and at

Aghtamar in lake Van. They have also prelates dignified by the title of Patriarch, who protect the interests of their church, as concerned in its members scattered through the Catholic diocesses of Constantinople and Jerusalem, besides vicariates and archbishoprics in Persia, and Russia.

In point of intelligence, the Armenians are superior to others of their communion, neither is their church so corrupt. Theologically Monophysites differ from the Greek Catholic Church in little save the dogma touching the oneness of the nature in Christ. But they have not adopted the practices introduced into the Catholic Church subsequently to the second general council of Constantinople, (554). On the other hand, they retain some elements of Judaism, as the observation of the Sabbath in addition to the Lord's day. They abstain from eating things strangled and from blood; and in Egypt and Abyssinia, they observe circumcision. The Copts, when they baptize a child, first immerse the lower part of the body, then up to the middle, then entirely. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is administered to infants by simply applying the consecrated elements to their lips.

As among the Nestorians, so among the Monophysites, there are converts to the Latin church, and organizations under Romish authority, the fruit of Romish missions. The Latin Patriarchate of Antioch, commenced in the time of the crusades, is still continued, and constitutes its seat of authority in Aleppo. Jesuit missionaries, in the 16th and 17th centuries, among the Abyssinians failed. More recently, Protestant effort in that quarter, has met with little more encouragement. Among the Armenians. Protestant missionaries from England, from the United States and from the European continent, are laboring with much success.

The Maronites, a remnant of the ancient Monothelite-party, have since the time of the crusades, (1182), been divided, the larger number having submitted to the jurisdiction of Rome. They are tolerated in the observance of certain practices peculiar to themselves, and allowed to retain their own Patriarch and ecclesiastical order. A college at Rome, established on their behalf, has been

distinguished by the Assemani, and other illustrious ecclesiastical scholars, to whose writings we are chiefly indebted for information touching the Eastern churches. The Patriarch, who lives in the monastery of St. Mary, at Karnobin, not far from Tripoli, takes, in common with the Orthodox Catholic, the Monophysite and Romish patriarchs, the title of Antioch; but the people, over whom his authority extends, are to be found principally in Mount Lebanon, and cities of the neighborhood. He is elected by his own communion, but receives the pallium and confirmation in office from the Pope. A small number of them still reject the connection with Rome, and adhere to their ancient ecclesiastical independence, and peculiar doctrine of the one will in Christ.

Of all parts of the Eastern church the most divided by the presence of conflicting parties are the sees of Antioch and Jerusalem.

The several languages retained in the liturgies, and other offices of the Oriental churches, are such, in all cases, as are not now spoken by the people. Among the Greeks, and their immediate connection, it is the ancient Greek; among the Georgians, the old Georgian; in Russia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Servia, Bosina, Montenegro, Slavonia proper, Dalmatia and Bulgaria, although various dialects are spoken, it is the Old Sclavonic which alone is used in Church service. Monophysites retain, In Egypt, the Coptic; in the Patriarchate of Antioch, the old Syriac; although the common idiom, in both cases, is the Arabic; in Ethiopia, the old Ethiopic, while it is the Amharic which is spoken; and in Armenia, the old Armenian. The Nestorians of Kurdistan adhere to the ancient Syriac. A modern dialect of the same is their vernacular. And the St. Thomas christians of Malabar, although some of them have exchanged their Nestorian creed for the Monophysite, and some, for Romanism, still retain in their worship and religious books, the old Syriac tongue. The Maronities also read their prayers in Syriac, which they do not understand. In this view we also perceive the predominence of the Slavic race among the Christians of the East. Of their sixty-six millions, or thereby, at least fifty-eight millions accept

the old Sclavonic as the language of their devotions. In every instance, it is the old language, in which the scriptures and liturgies were first established among the people, which is held as sacred; the idea of sanctity having attached to it as it became obsolete, and obscure to the common understanding. Such is Hebrew to the Jew, Latin to the Romanist, old Arabic to the Mohammedan, Sanscrit to the Hindu, Zend to the Parsee, and the learned system of the Mandarins to the Chinese. Protestant christians alone, and those who follow their example, employ the vernacular entirely in the service of the sanctuary, preferring an intelligent worship to a blind adoration.

THE GREEK CATHOLIC.

In the Orthodox, or Greek Catholic church, although Constantinople still enjoys the honor of precedence, the most important diocese is that of Russia. In addition to these, there are still the Patriarchates of Alexandria, of Antioch, and of Jerusalem, although only skeletons of their ancient substance, and the three independent metropolitans of Cyprus, of Austria and of Montenegro, together with the archbishop of Mount Sinai, and the church of independent Greece, which is governed by a Synod. The metropolitan of Montenegro, and the archbishop of Mount Sinai are merely titular, having no subordinate bishops. The metropolitan of Cyprus presides over three suffragans, and of Austria, over ten. Of the Patriarchs the Constantinopolitan is at the head of one hundred and thirty-five metropolitans, archbishops and bishops, The Patriarch of Jerusalem presides over twelve. Those of Alexandria and of Antioch are held to be chiefs respectively of four and of sixteen prelates, who all rank as metropolitans.

The population, over which those authorities extend, may be estimated at somewhat more than sixty-six millions, of which at least fifty millions belong to Russia, and of the rest by far the larger part to the See of Constantinople.

The Greek church admits the rank of the Pope as a Patriarch, and his primacy in the West of Europe, as

holding the only Episcopal see founded by apostles in that quarter; but condemns his assumption of headship and of universal authority as unwarranted. It also holds that he, and western christendom in general, have long been guilty of heresy, and schism, in corrupting the standards, and separating from the communion of the only Orthodox Catholic church. According to that view, the other four Patriarchs are as truly the heads respectively of the jurisdiction sassigned to them by ancient councils. The higher distinction admitted to Rome and to Constantinople is referred the fact that those cities were the capitals of the empire. Apostolic foundation is not accepted as a reason for any special distinction. Because Antioch, Jerusalem, and Alexandria are on the same footing, in that respect. The apostolical connection of Constantinople is recognized as due to Heraclea, of which diocese Byzantium was originally a part. And in the true, and higher sense, all the churches were founded by the apostles. The equal independence of all the Patriarchs is constantly maintained, and the rank of ecumenical is not allowed to any, except in that sense in which it is proper to all, although Constantinople is is superior in honor. The number of Orthodox Patriarchates was, in the seventeenth century, still, as determined by ancient councils, five, Russia having been admitted to the place left vacant by the schism of Rome.

Church government of the whole Greek Catholic connection is synodal. Its highest authority is the Synod of Patriarchs. The monarchical system of Rome is condemned as unscriptural, the power of the keys having been committed not to Peter alone, but to all the apostles. While the union of church and state is defended, they are each held to be sovereign within their own sphere, the state being under duty to protect the church, while the church sustains the order and authority of the State. In Mohammedan countries, these relations have long been in a condition of great derangement. They are most consistently observed in Russia, and independent Greece; where the churches are now governed by Synods.

Each Patriarch is elected by the church, over which he is to preside; that is by the synod of the diocese, and approved by the chief magistrate of the state. In Mohammedan countries, the latter condition is subject to great abuse, not unfrequently involving simony, and, on the part of the civil ruler, extreme oppression.

Unity, in the Greek church, consists in recognition of the same doctrines, and canons of ancient councils, the common synodal authority, and the same forms of worship and ceremonies. Since the defection of Rome, synods have not been regarded as general, but as authoritative simply for the jurisdiction of the prelates assembled in them.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, Mohammedanism prevailed in the countries which had belonged to the ancient jurisdiction of the oriental churches, and christians, only a sprinkling, where once they constituted the mass of the population, were barely tolerated under great oppression. A more recent conquest yielded the Greek church a freedom and a power, which it enjoyed no where else. To that quarter its subsequent history chiefly belongs. From Russia have proceeded all the progressive movements of modern Greek Catholicism, and by Russia have the rights of Greek Christians, in general, been defended against both Mohammedan and Romanist. Every step, which has gone to put the Greek church into relations with the modern world, has issued from that quarter.

From the introduction of christianity into Russia, in 992, until 1587, the church in that country was governed by a Metropolitan appointed from Constantinople. At first the ecclesiastical capital was Kieff. But after that city, in 1240, was captured by the Monguls, the seat of authority was removed more than once, until, in 1328, it was planted at Moscow, by the illustrious Metropolitan St. Peter. Before the Mongul invasion, Russia, although a large country, was but a small and unimportant power, lying chiefly towards the southwest of her present territory. By that invasion the greater part of her people were reduced to bondage, and the fragment of dominion which remained, was limited to the North. The long

continued wars, whereby the invaders were gradually expelled, fortified Russian character, intensified its nationality, and, over against the Mohammedanism of the Tartars, caused the profession of christianity to become the badge of loyalty, and the battle cry of liberation. As the Moorish occupation of Spain made Spaniards the fiercest champions of Roman Catholicism, so the Tartar occupation of Russia was one important means whereby the great modern defenders of Greek Catholicism were educated for their work. The subsequent extension of their dominion, and its intimate relations with the East, while holding a place among the great powers of the West, have put them into position to wield a stupendous influence for good, or evil, upon other branches of their ecclesiastical connection.

The Monguls were finally expelled in 1481, twenty-eight years after the fall of Constantinople. Russians, now independent, felt reluctant to accept their ecclesiastical chief from the subject of an enemy of their religion. And in order to avoid embarrassment and indignity the method was adopted of having the Metropolitan of Moscow appointed by a Synod of bishops within his own province, whereby he was assigned the anomalous position of recognizing, as his superior, the Patriarch of Constantinople, without being either appointed or confirmed in office by him. That irregularity, though tolerated for more than one hundred and thirty years, from what seemed to be the necessity of the case, was matter of much regret to the ecclesiastics concerned. And as Russia increased in national importance, it became the more desirable that the church within her bounds should take up some regular independent ground. The step which followed proceeded at once from suggestion of the Czar, and of the highest dignitaries of the church, and was facilitated by the idea of substituting Russia as a new Patriarchate, to fill the place left vacant by the schism of Rome. In 1587, by agreement of the Patriarchs of Constantinople and of Antioch, the Metropolitan of Moscow was elevated to the rank of Patriarch, on equal footing with themselves, and Russia constituted an independent diocese of the Greek Catholic Church. The act was

performed in a Synod of all the Russian bishops, at Moscow, under authority of the Czar Theodore, and sanctioned by the presence and consent of Jeremiah II., Patriarch of Constantinople.

The next fifty years beheld some revival of activity in that quarter of the long dormant Oriental Church. The new Patriarchate became a leader in the work of drawing up those confessions and books of doctrinal instruction, which the changed condition of the world demanded. Moscow had already become the holy city of Russia; it was now the seat of the Czar and of the Patriarch, soon to be distinguished by great events in the history of the church and nation, and by the reputation of some of their most illustrious men. There are four great historical personages, to whom the modern Russian Church is especially indebted, namely Philaret, Peter Mogilas, Nikon, and the Czar Peter. By those names are the principal stages in its history marked.

Russia has at several periods had to defend herself against the overbearing aggression of Romanism. Most dangerous was the attempt made from that quarter in the end of the 16th and early years of the 17th centuries. Taking advantage of the reign of the good, but feeble Theodore, and the deranged state of the imperial succession, which followed his death, Romish priests, from the side of Poland, associated themselves with insurrection, corrupted the dissatisfied, and conspired with otherwise designing persons, to bring about a union with Rome. Under management especially of the Jesuit Possevin, that process was clandestinely introduced into the southwest of Russia. Upon the death of Theodore, 1598, it received support from the arms of Poland. A pretender to the throne accepted the union, and was carried to the Kremlin of Moscow by force. He was soon slain. But the Poles held their ground, added to their troops, took possession of Moscow, and set up the Romish forms of worship in its holiest places. It was then that the monks of the *Troïtza Lavra* (Monastery of the Trinity) made that illustrious defence of their stronghold, and raised that voice of appeal to the patriotism of their countrymen, whereby they rolled back the tide of invasion from their borders.

Theodore Romanoff, nearest heir to the throne, on the termination of the lineal descent of Ruric, had been compelled by the usurper to go into a monastery, and was then a monk under the name of Philaret. His son Michael was confined in another religious house. Upon the close of the fierce and bloody conflict, the priests, who had fairly earned a right to have their wishes consulted, affectionately turned their eyes to the son of their noble brother Philaret. The nobles could present no other candidate for the crown with so good a claim. Accordingly, Michael Romanoff commenced the new imperial dynasty, on the basis of defence of the Orthodox Catholic Church, and opposition to Uniates and Romanists. He ascended the throne in 1613. His father was liberated from captivity to become Patriarch of Russia. That ecclesiastical dignity was thereby greatly enhanced and the privileges of the office extended, to a degree not previously yielded in the Greek Church.

Long protracted disorders continued to harass the southwestern part of the country through uniate plots, and usurpations sustained by Romish authorities from Poland, which in those days incurred a debt of violence and aggression, subsequently well repaid.

Within the same period, the wildernesses of Siberia were first occupied by Russian arms. The church followed in the footsteps of conquest. In 1623, Philaret established the archbishopric of Tobolsk and Siberia, as a means of organizing missionary effort, and of reforming the morals of the Cassacks, who although the pioneers of nominal christianity, were as lawless as the heathen they subdued. Philaret died in 1631. His successors, Joasaph and Joseph, 1631 to 1653, did little worth mentioning; but during their reigns, important steps were taken in promoting education, and expounding the doctrines of the Greek church. It was in the year 1632 that Peter Mogilas, the most learned Russian ecclesiastic of his day, was elevated to the metropolitan see of Kieff. His efforts for education were commenced in his monastery, where he founded a school, and from which he persuaded several of his most promising scholars to go to foreign universities to complete their studies. He also

obtained from the King of Poland, under whose dominion his province then lay, the "restoration of many converts, churches, and properties, which had been taken away from the Orthodox, together with freedom to establish seminaries and schools and printing presses," and other privileges for the Russian Church. His convent school he enlarged into a college, annexing to it a preparatory school and erecting buildings for the accommodation of poor students at his own expense. He also collected a library, and set up a printing press, from which he issued editions of the Greek Fathers and books of the service of the church, to counteract the efforts of Romanists, which were especially active in that quarter. His Trebnik, or office Book, became the model for performance of the Orthodox service. And, if not the most important, at least the most celebrated act of his life was the "Orthodox Confession," written by himself, or under his direction. A council of bishops was called in Kieff to revise it. After passing through their corrections, it was translated into Modern Greek, and sent to Parthenius, Patriarch of Constantinople. In 1643, a Synod, convoked at Jassy, condemned the doctrines of Calvin, and at the instance of Parthenius, revised and approved the Orthodox Confession, which was then sent to the other Oriental Patriarchs, who gave it their confirmation, and returned it with letters of approval to Kieff.

Peter Mogilas died in 1647. His work was performed, in the first instance, for the Greek church of Little Russia, then under the rule of Poland; but in it he had also a view to the wider dominion of the Czar, if not to the whole Oriental communion, to which an important part of it necessarily extended. Formally by its proper authorities the whole Greek Catholic Church accepted the confession; but only in Russia was it productive of any vital action, or did it lead to any further efforts for popular instruction.

In 1645, the Czar Michael died, and was succeeded on the throne by his son Alexis, whose ambition it was to be the Justinian of his nation. His reign commenced with reform of the laws. A commission was appointed, with Prince Niketa Odoëfsky, the most illustrious lawyer

of Russia, at its head, to make a collection of the canons of the ancient Fathers, and laws of the Greek emperors, to correct the statute book of the Czar John, and to add thereto the Ukases of later Czars, and to harmonize all into one code for the whole empire. By the end of the year, the work was complete, and received the blessing of the Patriarch and was signed by the clergy, the boyars, and people of all ranks. As in the labors of Philaret, the church had intertwined her jurisdiction with that of the state; so, in this revision of the laws, the state extended her authority to embrace the church. Thereby, a more intimate connection was established between the two than in any other diocese of the Oriental Catholic communion.

In the fourth year of his reign, 1649, Alexis was first made acquainted with the merits of the monk Nikon, who had come to the capital to plead the wants of his fraternity. Such a man could not be allowed to return to seclusion. He was retained at Moscow, and presented with the Novospasky monastery, where reposed the bones of the Czar's ancestors. He was admitted to the councils, and the intimate friendship of his monarch; and for many years the policy of the nation was swayed by his advice. In 1653, he was was raised to the place of Patriarch, which he retained six years. Through the support of Alexis, and his own transcendent abilities, Nikon, in that brief term of office, carried the Russian Primacy to the highest pitch of authority, and instituted reforms of long persistent abuses, which as reforms would have been better understood, and of longer duration, had not the jealousy and misrepresentation of enemies interposed. Means were secured of withdrawing from him the favor of the Czar. Too hastily, in a fit of indignation, he resigned his office, and thereby stripped himself of the power necessary to give his improvements effect. That one false step his enemies took care he should never have the opportunity of retracing. To the end of his days, he was confined in a monastery.

The most useful work which Nikon effected was the correction of the church books, which, in the long course of centuries, when they were copied by hand, had become

corrupted by the ignorance and oversight of copyists. Many of those corruptions had been retained in the printed editions, and errors of the press had increased the evil, and some had been introduced by heretical design. In the face of much opposition, he proceeded with correction of his new editions, by the old Sclavonic and Greek manuscripts. From various quarters collections were made of the most ancient manuscripts of the sacred books. One messenger, sent to Mount Athos, collected as many as five hundred Greek books, among which was a copy of the Gospels, written 1050 years before. The eastern Patriarchs added 200 more similar manuscripts. Upon introducing his corrected books into the churches he encountered opposition from the multitude who took his restoration of the ancient for novelty.

Nikon also put restraint upon the evil practices of the clergy, especially the prevalent one of intemperance, and upon errors in church service, and went so far as to remove from sight all such pictures as he thought were objects of undue veneration. He did much to promote education, had Greek and Latin introduced into the schools, improved the style of church music, and procured the means for publishing the Sclavonic translation of the Bible in its purity. He was also the first to break through and take steps to do away with the oriental seclusion of women, which had hitherto prevailed. And he revived by precept, and in his own ministrations, the practice of preaching, which had in the Greek Church been utterly neglected, for centuries.

During his administration large addition was made to the jurisdiction of the Russian Patriarchate by annexation of the Cossacks of the Ukraine. Steps were taken by him also towards the transfer of the metropolitan see of Kieff from the connection with Constantinople, to that of Moscow, which was effected, though not in his day.

The deposition of Nikon occurred in 1667, his death in 1681. His successors in the Primacy originated nothing of importance. Upon the death of the Czar Theodore, next year, the country was plunged into a state of disorder and agitation. The young Prince Peter, a boy

of ten years of age, was proclaimed in preference to John, his elder brother, on the ground that the latter was incapacitated by imbecility. Peter continued to pursue his studies with uncommon zeal and success under direction of the Patriarch Joachim, by whose aid he also defeated the ambition of his sister Sophia, and the mutinous Streltzi, or imperial guards. When he was still only 18 years of age, his friend and guardian Joachim died. Peter thus early thrown upon his own judgment, began his reign by making himself acquainted with the resources, and wants of his country, fully purposed to develop the one and supply the other, by every means which he possessed, or could command, whether at home, or from abroad. His reforms were more thorough than those of Nikon, and sustained by a weight of authority which the enterprising ecclesiastic never possessed. The Patriarch Adrian was old and feeble. But the Czar found cordial support from other eminent churchmen, especially from Stephen Yavorsky, preacher in Kieff.

After the capture of Azoff had given weight to his reputation, and the death of his brother John in 1696, had left him sole Czar, Peter determined to enlarge his intellectual stores by foreign travel. In the suite of an embassy, in which his preceptor appeared as the principal, he visited Holland, France, England and Germany, studying carefully the elements of their culture and prosperity. From Vienna he was called home by another mutiny of the Streltzi. His career of reform opened in the effective punishment of that refractory militia. Some of them he condemned to death, the rest he dispersed in far distant places, utterly extinguishing their organization. He proceeded to carry out his purpose to bring the manners and customs, government and life of Russia as near as possible into conformity with those of the west of Europe. That sweeping reform which stooped to prescribe the cut of their dress for his people, could not overlook the state of the church. Many things were held too sacred to be touched, but others, at variance with ancient practice, or Greek principle, could be altered, or removed without serious opposition, and some, which had crept in from the western church, were the most obnoxious, and could be the most easily exposed.

When Peter came to the throne he found that absolute as was his power, in theory, it was actually divided with the clergy. By the steps of a process already indicated, the Patriarchate, had almost forsaken its Byzantine ground and approximated to the papal. Nothing stood more in the way of the imperial reformer. Upon the death of Adrian, who protested against every innovation to the last, when the bishops assembled to elect a successor, the Czar appeared among them, and dismissed them with the statement that such action was not necessary at that time. Stephen Yavorsky was appointed guardian of the church, with provisional oversight of its affairs. The Patriarchal court was closed, and all its business transferred to the civil courts, except purely ecclesiastical matters, which were subjected to a monastery court, now constituted with powers defined expressly for that purpose. At the same time all attempts to interfere with the orthodox doctrine, or established practice of the church were severely repressed, whether made from the side of the Roman or the Protestant.

Twenty years did Peter keep the supreme government of the church in suspense, until a generation had grown up without the inner allegiance to an ecclesiastical sovereign. At the end of that time, he suggested that only a synodal administration was capable of answering the wants of the church. He did not immediately press that view. But it was consistent with the plan of supreme government in the Greek Church. Finally it was submitted to a council called in St. Petersburg, in the beginning of the year 1721, and after discussion, accepted. The new constitution was approved by the highest in the land, both lay and ecclesiastical. Subsequently it received the sanction of the Patriarchs of the East, as communicated in a letter from Constantinople dated September 23, 1723. Ever since, the Church of Russia has been presided over by the Holy Governing Synod, which occupies the place of a Patriarch.

The Russian empire is divided into dioceses, called eparchies, which in extent and number are nearly the same with the civil divisions into sixty-four provinces.

In these there are four hundred and eighty-three cathedrals and twenty-six thousand five hundred and ninety-eight churches, many of which are magnificent buildings.

Russian clergy are of two classes, distinguished by the names white and black, the former being the secular, or parish priests, and the latter the regulars, or monks. From the monasteries are all the higher dignitaries of the church elected. To the white belong the humbler ranks of presbyters, super-deacons, deacons and sub-deacons. The superior clergy, that is, the metropolitans, archbishops and bishops, called in common, Archires, are almost all equally authoritative within their respective sees. Next to them in rank stand the heads of the monasteries, and the black clergy under their rule; and on an humbler level are the white, or secular clergy, to whom no promotion to the higher ranks lies open.

The Greek Church, like the Roman and Protestant, entered upon the second half of the seventeenth century with her doctrinal symbols fully matured. She does not, however, make the letter of modern confession obligatory upon the consciences of her people. The Creed, that is, the Nicene Creed as revised and enlarged at Constantinople and confirmed at Chalcedon, is her only doctrinal test. That symbol is retained in its purity, without the Latin interpolation touching the procession of the Holy Spirit. No oath or subscription to the Confession or Articles of Bethlehem is required of the clergy. Security against error is sought by maintaining a profound reverence for the ancient traditional teaching of the church; and in opposing to gainsayers, in case of necessity, the terrors of excommunication. The modern confessions are esteemed only as concisely expressing the meaning of the ancient authorities, in relation to the views of the modern world. Catechisms and other books for ministerial and popular instruction have also been produced in Russia, within recent times.

The ritual is, in the main, the same as that which existed before the schism of Rome. In the number of sacraments (*μυστήρια*) alone does the Greek Church admit that she has followed the example of the Latin; but not in their characteristics and manner of administer-

ing them. Baptism they administer by immersion, or by trine affusion in the name of the Holy Trinity, and grant it to infants, whom they also admit to confirmation and the Eucharist. Holy unction with oil they apply, not in view of death, but as the first means of healing to the sick. The Eucharist is administered by mingling the bread with the wine, and giving it to the communicant in a spoon, as the very body and blood of the Lord united. Secular clergy are admitted to the sacrament of marriage, but only once. If a priest's wife dies, he is expected to go into a monastery; if he marries a second time, he renounces the ministry. In confirmation, they anoint with oil, and believe that in it the candidate "receives a grace of spiritual growth and strength." In Penitence, they teach that "he, who confesses his sins, is, on the outward declaration of the priest, inwardly loosed from his sins by Jesus Christ himself." And in Orders, that "the Holy Ghost, by the laying on of the bishop's hands, ordains them, that be rightly chosen, to minister sacraments, and to feed the flock of Christ."

Pictures are used in their churches, and worshipped with that degree of worship defined and sanctioned by the Second Council of Nice, if the worshipper knows anything about the distinction, or is capable of making it.

The service of the Greek church is burdened with liturgical forms, with manifold repetitions, and readings tediously prolonged.

Nowhere else is the official character of ecclesiastics more distinctly separated from that of the individual. The effect has not been favorable to spiritual religion or morality. Formal connection with the church, and compliance with its observances are held to constitute a full title to the favor of God. Accordingly nothing can be changed, to accommodate any plan of union with either Romanist or Protestant.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH, FROM 1648 TO 1774.

The Latin Church in the latter part of the seventeenth century was deeply agitated by a controversy within her own bounds, involving a conflict between her ancient

standards and her ablest defenders. A book published, in 1588, by Louis Molina, a Spanish Jesuit, and Professor of Theology at Ebora, on the "Concord of Grace and Freewill," was received with favor by the order to which its author belonged. Its Pelagianism was encountered by the Dominicans and a controversy arose on that point. Pope Clement VIII. convoked, 1597, a council of divines, called the *Congregatio de Auxiliis*, to examine the subject, and reconcile the two powerful orders by adopting forms of statement satisfactory to both. At the end of ten years and after censuring some propositions of Molina as Pelagian or Semi-Pelagian, they dispersed, without announcing the result of their deliberations. The Pope, Paul V., promised to give his decision at a convenient season, which never arrived. Pelagianism was neither condemned, nor expressly accepted by the Catholic Church; and the controversy, though forbidden, could not be stayed. At the end of about forty years, it was quickened to greater activity, and took a more definite form, in relation to the writings of Cornelius Jansen, Bishop of Ypres, and of Jean du Vergier de Hauranne, Abbot of St. Cyran. Jansen, who had spent his life in the study of Augustine, left, at his death, a large work under the name of *Augustinus*, devoted to the restoration of the theology of the great Latin Father of that name. The work was published in 1640, in three folio volumes. De Hauranne produced a work of similar extent and purpose on the system of Catholic discipline, which he called *Petrus Aurelius*. It was "approved by the assembly of the French clergy in 1642," and printed at their expense. Both those learned works sustained Augustinianism as the true doctrine of the Catholic Church.

The Jesuits assailed the *Augustinus*, and, in 1642 procured its prohibition by the Pope. Its author had died in 1638, and Hauranne was now in prison and near his end; but other champions of the cause arose, among whom the most eminent were Antony Arnauld, a learned doctor of the Sorbonne, Le Maistre de Sacy, Nicole, Tillemont and Pascal.

At Port Royal, eighteen miles from Paris, stood a convent founded in the thirteenth century. In 1625 the nuns

were removed to another house in the suburbs of Paris. Their new residence was called Port-Royal de Paris, and that which they had left, Port-Royal des Champs. When the latter was abandoned by the nuns, it was occupied by certain gentlemen, who sought a retreat from the world in order to devote their lives, to christian studies, works of benevolence, and devotion. They were known as the recluses of Port-Royal. Thither retired Arnauld, Nicole, Le Maistre and others, the greatest defenders of Jansenism, and advocates of Augustinian theology. And Port-Royal in the country became the citadel of the Jansenists in their protracted warfare withthe Jesuits.

In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the much relaxed discipline of Port-Royal had been reformed by the young abbess, Angelica Arnauld. A revival of piety had followed in the nunnery, and extended to other monasteries. About the same time a few pious clergymen, among whom St. Cyran stood eminent, had begun to work a similar influence upon many persons among the populace of Paris, northern France and the Netherlands. The *Petrus Aurelius* and *Augustinus* were theological effects of that revival. They now stood as fortresses in its defence, against Jesuit attack. And the subjects of the religious revival constituted the public which sustained the Jansenist Theologians.

On the first of July, 1649, Nicolas Cornet, Syndic of the Faculty of Theology, laid before the Sorbonne seven heretical propositions, subsequently reduced to five, which he affirmed to be contained in the *Augustinus*. From that date, the debate assumed proportions to alarm and agitate the whole Romish Church.

The five propositions were condemned as heretical by a constitution of Innocent X., issued May 31, 1653. It was denied by the Jansenists that those propositions were to be found in the Augustinus, in the sense thus condemned. The Pope asserted that he condemned them as being "of Jansen, and in the sense of Jansen."

For maintaining what the Pope had thus condemned, Antony Arnauld was censured by the Sorbonne, and deprived of his doctorate. "In the course of two years, more than sixty doctors of the Sorbonne were ejected

from that body, for refusing to set their names to that act, which they considered one of the grossest injustice."

It was during that trial of Arnauld that the first of the Provincial Letters appeared. "Blaise Pascal was at this time in the thirty-fourth year of his age, and intimately connected, not only with Arnauld, but with Nicole, Lemaistre, Lemaistre de Sacy, and the rest of the recluses at Port-Royal des Champs." "He was the first to arouse public attention and excite public horror, by dragging out from the enormous and countless volumes of the casuists the depths of iniquity" which the Jesuits recognized and allowed. "The fury which those letters excited in the Universities is scarcely to be described. The writer was beyond their reach, but their vengeance might be wreaked on Port-Royal."

A portion of the nuns had returned to the country convent under the Abbess Angelica in 1648, and the recluses had "retired to a place called *Les Granges*, in the immediate neighborhood." They were all alike held by their enemies to be guilty of Augustinian doctrine; whereas Molinism was the professed creed of the Jesuits.

Pope Alexander VII. maintained the ground taken by his predecessor, in the controversy, by a brief issued in 1656. The Church of France accepted the brief, and framed a formula accordingly, which was to be "signed by all candidates for ecclesiastical preferment." Thus, in 1657, the Gallican Church with the Papacy was enlisted on the side of the Jesuits, against the Jansenists, although "the promulgation of the formula was deferred till 1661." All who refused to sign the Formulary were subjected to persecution. "The Bastille was crouded with Jansenists;" seventy-five persons were carried from Port-Royal. Angelica Arnauld died August 6th, 1661, and her sister Agnes, succeeding as Abbess, adhered to the same doctrine. Port-Royal at Paris was put into possession of parties who signed the Formulary.

Upon the succession of Clement IX. to the Papal chair, in 1667 a reconciliation was effected by the "concordat which is known as the Pacification of Clement IX," granted Jan. 19, 1669. "The recluses of Port-Royal had now liberty to return to their favorite retreat;

and there they occupied themselves with those works which have rendered their names immortal." The next twenty-five years were the most productive period of their history.

The controversy re-opened in 1696, in reference to the Moral Reflections on the New Testament by Paschasius Quesnel, which had recently appeared; and on the whole breadth of dispute in 1703, by the action of Clement XI., in issuing a Bull "renewing all the doctrines of the Formulary, and making no account whatever of the Pacification of Clement IX. The General Assembly of the French clergy received the Bull," and the Pope, thus sustained, issued on July 13, 1708 his condemnation of the Moral Reflections, "as infected with Jansenian heresy."

It was now the purpose of its opponents to utterly destroy Jansenism. Port-Royal in the country had been the residence of a number of the most learned and gifted of that persuasion. A Papal Bull ordered the suppression of the convent. In 1709 the residents were dispersed and consigned to separate prisons. Everything belonging to it, worth removal, was transferred to Port-Royal at Paris. The buildings were then demolished, 1710, and subsequently, 1712, the dead bodies were turned out of their graves and thrown into a pit in one indiscriminate mass. Thus fell Port-Royal, a serious disaster to Jansenists in France, and a corresponding triumph to their Jesuit foes. The spirit of Port-Royal however did not die. It still lives, in the writings and influence of its illustrious men and women.

Other blows continued to be inflicted upon Jansenism through Papal agency, which was in those times generally controlled by the Jesuits. On September 8, 1713, appeared the famous constitution *Unigenitus*, in which one hundred and one propositions extracted from the writings of Quesnel were condemned. That act was soon found to be extreme. Only twelve of the propositions could be proved heretical. In some of them the error was on the side of the men who condemned them, in others, a meaning was imputed which Jansenism did not justify, and Clement himself thought twelve of the rest not worthy of censure. The Constitution, notwithstand-

ing, condemned the whole one hundred and one in the lump. It was accordingly disapproved of as unjust, by many persons, who had no predelictions for Jansenism; and for years France was distracted by the disputes between those who opposed, and those who defended it. The latter ultimately prevailed, and in 1730, the Constitution *Unigenitus* became a law of France.

Another severe blow fell upon Jansenism from a different quarter. In 1727, Francis Paris, a deacon of holy life, and of some reputation among the opposers of the *Unigenitus*, was buried in the Cemetery of St. Medard. "It soon began to be reported that miracles were performed at his tomb." Multitudes of people resorted thither. They became excited with expectation and the recital of the wonders which many believed they had seen. Some fell into convulsions, foamed at the mouth, tore their hair and their clothes, groaned, sobbed, or were struck down, as they thought, by an invisible power. The fanaticism became alarming; and the king ordered the cemetery to be closed. But the evil was not stayed; convulsionists appeared all over the country, and proceeded to the wildest extremes. And more than once the spectacle was presented of a person submitting to be crucified. This was as late as 1758. By the connection of these extravagances with its name, was Jansenism more injured than by all the attacks of its outside enemies. The subsequent history of the party in France has not been insignificant, but comparatively obscure. It might be called the low church Catholic, and retains its own distinctive marks. In Holland, with the Bishop of Utrecht as leader, it has maintained a more consistent life. On the basis of opposition to the *Unigenitus*, it became separated from Rome, and so stands to the present day.

QUIETISM.

Mysticism, which had increased in the course of the fifteenth century, found in the sixteenth, its most congenial element in the evangelical part of the Reformation. Still there were some of those devotional spirits who adhered to the Catholic Church, who loved its forms of

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worship, and venerated its traditions, and in the midst, sometimes, of much obloquy, and suspicion of protestantism, pursued their pious meditations. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, that class was honorably represented by Francis de Sales, nominally Bishop of Geneva, and author of "Philothea," a favorite devotional book with pious Catholics; and in the succeeding generation by John Scheffler a German, first a Protestant and afterwards a Catholic Priest, who added "several sweet and devout hymns" to both communions. The persuasion assumed consistency and form, in connection with a book called the Spiritual Guide by Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, born at Saragossa in 1627. The book was, in 1687, condemned by the Inquisition. Molinos was himself imprisoned in a monastery, where he died in 1696. The doctrines of his book were accepted elsewhere, among Protestants, as well as in the Catholic world, especially in France, where they formed a party including the illustrious names of Fenelon and Madame Guyon. They recommended as the true way of life that the "soul should seek to become affectionately one with God, by quiet prayer, and a complete annihilation of its own independent existence," to the extent of having no concern for its own salvation, provided God is glorified.

From their opponents they received the old heretical name of Quietists. Their doctrine was one of those varieties of mysticism, which have appeared, from time to time, in various periods of the Christian Church, Occasionally a true type of Christian piety; and yet in the case of most people who adopt it, involving the serious error of ignoring a christian's duty to the world, and sinking into spiritual selfishness. But that certainly was not chargeable upon its two great leaders in France. The writings of Fenelon are known wherever the French language extends. And Madame Guyon "travelled many years with her confessor, La Combe, who shared her views, through France and Switzerland; and by means of numerous writings, and oral instruction, kindled a like burning love to God in the hearts of countless disciples,

male and female." In the Romish Church, at the end of the seventeenth century, the pious lives of the Quietists stood out the more distinctly before observation, in contrast with the hollow formality prevailing around them, and the godlessness of fashionable society. The condemnation which fell upon Molinos followed the Quietists in France. For the instigator of it was the Jesuit La Chaise, confessor of Louis XIV. Fenelon read the papal censure of his doctrines from the pulpit, in 1699, submitted, and admonished his people to submit to superior authority.

Jansenism and Quietism, no doubt erred on some points, but they were earnest, and godly attempts for a revival of vital truth and piety. They were both subjected to persecution by the influence of the Jesuits with the inquisition, with the papacy and the King of France.

THE REIGN OF JESUITISM.

To support, defend and propagate the Romish religion as they found it, the society of Loyola had, from its institution, continued with a zeal, assiduity and craft, which as a mere intellectual exploit cannot be contemplated without admiration. Combined as one man, intelligent, perfectly trained, and a sufficient number of pious men among them to give the credit of sanctity to the whole, the system which bound them together was intolerant, unscrupulous of means, and unrelenting. They made war upon every shape and movement of reform, and yet to obtain a real addition to their force, or reach a desired end, were ready to indulge their converts, to any degree short of open scandal, in vice or superstition. Mere vice, if covert, was venial; it was heresy, according to their standard, which was deadly sin. To guide the education of the young, and the consciences of powerful penitents in the confessional, and to wield the policy of nations, through sacerdotal influence over the minds of rulers, and coöperating mysteriously with one another, from country to country to that end, were the favorite methods of the society. Their most bitter opposition was, of course, directed against Protestants; but their ceaseless intermeddling created greater dislike to them among

Catholics. To the Papacy in its war with the various forces of Reform, they had proved an invaluable ally. Their order was the very machinery needed to sustain it when papal practices, which no argumentation could defend, were still fresh in the minds of men. The papacy was the keystone of a government which could not safely be removed at once; and yet to retain it in force, something else than sound reason was needed. The Jesuits brought that something else, in blind devotion to its interests, consummate organization, the subtlest craft, and a moral theology adapted to the circumstances. They aspired to put themselves at the head of the Catholic people, and thereby to secure the unlimited supremacy of the Romish Church over all states. Extraordinary success attended upon their efforts, from the first. It culminated in the generalship of Claudius Aquaviva, (1581 to 1615) and of Mutius Vitelleschi (1615 to 1645), and although seriously impaired in the Jansenian controversy, it was in the first instance morally rather than materially. In the middle of the seventeenth century they controlled the politics of Italy, had established their influence at the court of the emperor, and made Vienna, Ingoldstadt and Cologne centres of operation. Treves, Mayence, Spires, Aschaffenburg and Wurtzburg were seats of their colleges, and Munich was the "Rome of Germany." Bohemia they had completely subjugated. Bavaria and Baden were brought under their rule, the protestant population being compelled to become Catholic, or go into exile. Although restrained in France by the policy of Henry IV., they established themselves in Lyons, and even in Paris succeeded in securing an increasing party among the members of the Sorbonne, and in the time of Louis XIV., obtained unrestricted freedom of action and royal coöperation. In Spain opposed by the Dominicans, they succeeded at last in obtaining a foothold at Alcala and Salamanca, from which they gradually extended their movements to the head of government. In Portugal they were received readily, furnished confessors for the royal family, and dictated the policy of the nation. Similarly favored from the first in Belgium, they had their colleges in Courtray, Ypern, Bruges, Ant-

werp, and Brussels, and thence made their way among the protestants of the United Netherlands. And their colleges were established at Douay and Rome "for the benefit of England." To the north, Poland was their stronghold, whence invasion was carried into Sweden and Russia, in neither of which was it permanently successful, and from both did it provoke retaliation. Having insinuated themselves into places of influence at different Catholic courts, they artfully wielded the minds of princes and statesmen to the execution of their designs.

They also maintained their missionaries among the heathen, with the intention of building up their order in every nation under heaven. The sincere piety of many of their humbler brethren it would be the height of uncharitableness to deny, and their plans fill the mind with a sense of grandeur, yet no unprejudiced reader of their history can hesitate to say that the motives of the ruling spirits were profoundly secular—the latter was the element of their system which in process of time increased, while the other diminished. Some of their foreign missionaries were self-denying, godly men; others were in full sympathy with the ambition of their order. Many of the latter combined to keep before the world a succession of such glowing reports of missionary success, of such numbers of converts, of such scenes of christian purity and harmony, and of such triumphs of the Catholic Church among the heathen, as long adorned and upheld Jesuit repute at Rome and throughout western Europe. Japan, China, and India were the scenes of their most boasted triumphs. And if contemplated merely in themselves, the vast attainments, the versatile talents, and long endurance of some of their Indian and Chinese missionaries—such men as Ricci, Adam Schall, and De Nobili—were really wonderful.

But reports from more humble minded and truthful men, in course of time got before the European public, other orders also sent their missionaries to those countries; and complaints increased that the Jesuit converts were only nominal, that the essentials of christianity were being surrendered for the sake of inducing multitudes to assume the name of it, and practice a few Catho-

lic forms, which were also so adapted to the heathen as to make the practice easy. Closer investigation confirmed the reports. The matter was becoming a public scandal. Orders were sent from Rome, by the hand of the papal legate Tournon to put a stop to it. Tournon left Europe in 1702, conveyed his message to the Jesuit mission in India, and arrived in China in 1704. The result was unfortunate to himself. At the imperial court the missionaries were in favor. Tournon was driven away by the emperor, and imprisoned at Macao, where he died in 1710. Controversy arose between the missionaries and the authorities at home, greatly prolonged by the intervening distance, and the slow methods of travel in those days. It did not come to an end until 1742, when Benedict XIV. entirely prohibited the accommodation to heathen rites which was the subject of dispute. The missions forthwith lost their eclat and dwindled away. Yet the field was not entirely abandoned. To this day there are remnants of that Jesuit work in China, in a community where the name christian is applied to a combination of Catholic and heathen observances.

Jesuit missions in Abyssinia enjoyed a similarly splended success, which was extinguished in their expulsion from the country by an uprising of the native monophysite population, who in 1632, restored their own church. In America their work progressed more quietly, being left, except in Paraguay and California, to its own natural results. In every direction those results have proved to be little better than heathenism among the ignorant, and the provocative of infidelity to the intelligent. Perhaps the least corrupted by their principle of accommodation were the missions to the North American Indians, though the fruit reaped was certainly small.

The Jansenian controversy, especially the Provincial Letters of Pascal, had damaged by exposing the moral character of Jesuitism. The public and Papal condemnation of their missionary practices also condemned all concerned in them of falsehood and charlatanism. Meanwhile their intermeddling in financial and state affairs had become offensive to the governments of Europe, and,

in some cases, intolerable. The Roman Catholic Church divided into two great parties between those who censured and those who defended the Jesuits. Papal elections were determined by it, to one side or the other.

But the progress of public opinion was adverse to the order. In 1759 all its members resident in Portugal and its dependencies were banished. In 1764 they were expelled from France; in 1766, from Spain and Sicily; and finally, by the act of Clement XIV., in 1773, the order was abolished. The Bull, *Dominus ac Redemptor*, was issued on the 21st of July, 1773, and took effect on the 16th of August next. Clement died the following year.

THE PAPACY.

The civil power of the Papacy, notwithstanding the force of the re-action, was now greatly impaired in both degree and extent of authority. Not only had some nations separated themselves hopelessly, but those who remained in connection with it, no longer paid it the reverence of former times, and obedience, on the part of the great monarchs, was no longer to be inforced. Great powers and privileges were still admitted to be resident in Rome, which France, Spain, and the Empire equally disregarded when it suited their purpose; and Papal weakness rendered it necessary to submit to much, which all Catholic states would regard as just ground of complaint. In the wars of the Spanish and Polish successions, the troops of Catholic powers in different directions entered the Pope's dominions, and plundered his subjects.

It was in the fourth year of Innocent X. that the treaty of Westphalia was concluded, against which he protested in vain. It was he also who authoritatively condemned the five propositions ascribed to Jansen. He died in 1655. His successor, Alexander VII., became involved, by Jesuit influence, in the Janenist controversy, while he suffered a deep humiliation in a dispute with Louis XIV., on account of an insult to the French Ambassador at Rome. "Alexander refusing the satisfaction required, the king not only made himself master of Avignon, but marched an army into Italy," and com-

pelled the pope to sign a peace to his disgrace and loss of territory. Clement IX., who succeeded him, on the 30th of June, 1667, effected a suspension of the controversy between the Jansenists and Jesuits, accommodated a long existing dispute with Portugal, by confirming the bishops of King Pedro's nomination, and the "mildness of his government towards the subjects of the ecclesiastical state" procured much honor for his brief pontificate. He died in December, 1668. The next Pope, Clement X., filled the chair six years, without any event of distinction in history. Innocent XI., began his reign Dec. 10, 1676, with the purpose to restore the papal supremacy in temporal things. The attempt in the case of France led to controversy in which the clergy and people defended the cause of their king. Louis XIV., called a council of the French clergy which, under the leadership of Bosnet, bishop of Meaux, defined more sharply than ever before the privileges of the Gallican Church. The king persecuted his own protestant subjects, and enforced Catholicism; but refused submission to the Pope. He added unnecessary indignity, maintained his minister at Rome by force of arms in contempt of the papal regulations, and even disposed of ecclesiastical benefices, within the bounds of France, by his own will. Innocent, though far from a feeble pontiff, proved unable to maintain his now impracticable claims. His action touching the revocation of the edict of Nantes was rather one of compliance with the Jesuits, than a matter of great interest to himself, at that juncture, and though it damaged the cause of the haughty monarch, damaged that of the Papacy still more.

Alexander VIII. was elected on the sixth of October, 1690, seven weeks after the death of Innocent. A beginning was made in reconciling the difficulty with France, but before peace was concluded the pope died, on the first of February, 1691. The election of a successor was lengthened out until the twelfth of July, and resulted in the choice of Innocent XII., who concluded the peace with France. He also prudently avoided a quarrel with the Emperor, while enforcing his authority upon "the vassals in the ecclesiastical states;" and no pope was

ever more fortunate in having his censure of heresy complied with than he, in the submission of the Quietist Fenelon. He died Sept. 27, 1700.

Clement XI. was elected on the third of November next, and reigned twenty-one years. One of his first transactions was to "oppose the erection of Prussia into a kingdom," to which the party concerned paid no regard. Still more was the feebleness of the papacy in temporal things exhibited in the war of the Spanish succession. Professing to stand neutral, Clement was accused by both parties of befriending their enemies. The French extorted from him the recognition of Philip V., as king of Spain. The Austrians afterwards entered and plundered his territories, and constrained him to annul that recognition, and substitute the name of their candidate, the Archduke Charles. If he offended the Jesuits by his censure of their missions in China and India, they were still too strong to be broken by it, and he gave them ample satisfaction in the blow inflicted on the Jansenists.

Upon the death of Clement XI., in 1721, Innocent XIII. succeeded, and reigned three years without performing any act to detain attention upon him.

Controversy on the subject of the Jesuit missions in which the opposition was led by the Dominicans, was now agitating the Catholic Church. Benedict XIII. was raised to the pontificate in the interest of the Dominican party, himself a Dominican monk. His reign was marked by an unusually pacific attitude towards the Greek and Protestant Churches, with a view to reconcile them with the Roman. But he left a greater reputation for virtue and learning," than for the wisdom or prosperity of his administration.

Clement XII., who succeeded in 1730, spent the ten years of his reign in fruitless attempts to repress the growth of religious liberty, and to revive the reality of papal prerogatives, which the civil powers could no longer allow. In these efforts he embroiled himself successively with the courts of France, Austria and Spain, and consumed much of his time in contentions from which it was impossible that he could emerge with credit.

In 1740 Benedict XIV. succeeded to the chair thus diminished in real power, and by a course of moderation procured for it more respect than the most exorbitant claims of his predecessors could compell. He endeavored to establish a wise economy in the administration of his estates; and acquired, by his tolerant and unassuming spirit, the esteem of all Europe. When his territories were invaded, his utmost efforts were laid out to repair the damage thereby inflicted upon the people, which also the common sentiment of Europe condemned. Of the conclusive effect with which he rebuked the Jesuit proceedings in India and China mention has already been made.

Clement XIII., elected in 1758, in the interest of the Jesuits, used every effort to avert the effects of that unpopularity which had settled down upon them. His efforts were fruitless to that end, but exposed to imminent hazard the authority of his own office. It was within his pontificate that the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal, France and Spain. The anti-Jesuit party elected his successor, who took the papal name of Clement XIV. For the interests of the Papacy, in that crisis, no better choice could have been made. Jesuits for two hundred years had put themselves forward as its defenders, and its reputation was largely associated with theirs. It had never submitted to recognize indebtedness to their support, and had occasionally reproved their practices; but had it persisted in tolerating them, lying, as they now were, under the general reprobation of good men, it could not have escaped serious diminution of respect. And yet, for the head of the Papacy to array himself against his own janizaries was a daring act. But to that act Clement XIV. was found equal. He was elected in 1769, abolished the Jesuit order in 1773, and died in 1774.

Upon the whole, the course of Papal history, from 1648 to 1774, was that of an irregular fluctuating decline. The admitted talents and virtues of one or two popes could only retard the downward progress. And the declining secular power dragged with it that which more properly belonged to ecclesiastical relations. Equally wise and bold as was the act of Clement XIV., whereby

he severed his office from the Jesuits, it came too late to avert all the calamities so nearly ripened.

STATE OF RELIGION AND INTELLIGENCE IN THE ROMISH CHURCH.

Through the war made in the Catholic Church upon every attempt to revive a purer doctrine or more spiritual life, practical piety was confined within exceedingly narrow bounds, and became more and more rare. The effect was to establish formalism in full authority, under cover of which infidelity prevailed, and prevailed most where intelligence was greatest. In a ritual service, not designed for instruction, and in which the people are only lookers on, reason finds little to take hold of, and soon wearies and drops the theme altogether. If religion is authoritatively confined to such set observances, it will soon become drained of all real interest. And if even in that condition its external observance is deemed sufficient for salvation, it will stand in the way of heart piety. These ends were actually reached in Catholic Europe in the latter half of the eighteenth century—worldliness under the cover of profession of faith, and utter unbelief on the part of the more intelligent. Piety in order to be warm, earnest and healthy must have a degree of freedom. Every christian does not learn Christ in precisely the same way and through the same light. The evil which resulted was greatest in France, where intelligence was commonest, and intellect most active.

In France also the philosophy of Locke was accepted, and carried out, with a logical abandon, truly French, to conclusions, from which its English author would have shrunk in horror, and which were turned as weapons against all religion in the spirit of a frivolous and scoffing ridicule.

From the time of Charlemagne the Gallican Church has been recognized as laying claim to a certain degree of freedom from Papal rule. The great points of Gallicanism, as set forth by Bosuet, and a national assembly of French clergy under Louis XIV., are four, 1, that Kings are independent of the pope, in secular matters, 2, that episcopal jurisdiction is immediately from Christ, 3, that a general Council is a higher authority than the

Pope, and 4, that the Pope is not infallible, except with the concurrence of the church. All that was directly opposed to Jesuitism, and the latter success of that order in France had operated to hold Gallican principles in abeyance.

Again, the Jesuits, putting themselves forward as the defenders of religion, had systematically joined interests with the nobility and the court. And as the merciless oppression exercised by the latter became increasingly weighty, popular detestation fell upon all alike. To men capable of comprehending the order and nature of the causes at work, it became impossible to respect what was put before them for christianity, and to men who looked no further disbelief was inevitable. There can be no doubt that piety in that church, at that time, existed chiefly among the ignorant, and was protected by their ignorance. A tremendous calamity was certainly before a nation, when so large a portion of it lay in that condition.

And yet there was no lack of organization for such piety as was recognized and allowable. The regular service, though not so cumbrous as that of the Greek Church, was very copious. And if attendance upon all that did not suffice a troubled conscience, there were various monastic orders into one or other of which, if a penitent felt moved thereto, he would find little difficulty in obtaining admittance. With the view of meeting the utmost of such demands, the more recently constituted orders were the most severe. Such was the revived order of La Trappe, and such that of the Redemptorists, and the "Sodality of the devotion of the heart of Jesus." Orders were also instituted for the purpose of educating youth in consistency with the doctrines and practices of the Catholic Church. To that the Redemptorists gave much of their attention, and it was the sole object of the order of La Salle—*Fratres ignorantiæ*. The new orders had all a view to the confining of piety to prescribed channels, and the severer exaction of compliance with the ordinances of the Catholic Church.

The intellectual activity of the time found some honorable representatives among the Catholics, especially of France. The Benedictines of the Congregation of St.

Maur continued their learned labors, which, in a historical point of view, are of great value. Others employed themselves in editing works of the ancient Fathers, and other relics of Christian antiquity. Many of the Jesuits were men of great learning, and ability, and some, of unquestionable piety. It was the time of the Theologians Bona and Noris, and the antiquarian Muratori of Italy, and of the historians Mabillon and Du Pin, of France, and the illustrious writers of Port Royal have already been mentioned.

It was also within the same period that the best preachers of the Gallican Church flourished, at the head of whom stand the great names of Bourdaloue, Bosuet, Flechier, and Massillon. And among Romish Biblical scholars appeared Simon, Calmet, and Houbigant. The Catholic literature of Spain was comparatively scanty, and the best intellectual activity of Germany was given to the cause Protestantism.

POLITICAL CHANGES AFFECTING THE CHURCH.

The form of government prevailing in that period was absolute monarchy, and the principal powers were France and Spain, the former in its prime and the latter declining. Next were England, the Empire and Sweden. France and Spain were Romish; England and Sweden Protestant. The imperial dynasty was Romish, but Germany was divided. The smaller Protestant states, Western Switzerland and Holland, added to the weight of northern Germany and Sweden, formed, on the continent, an interest opposed, but not in itself of equal strength to the great Romish powers when combined. England was, during all the latter half of the seventeenth century, with exception of a few years under Cromwell, wholly occupied with her own internal affairs; and did not again become a great European power, until so constituted by the policy of William III. From that date, she gradually assumed the position of a leader on the Protestant side, bringing thereby the two parties more nearly to an equal balance. The prime point of international policy was to maintain an equality, or balance among the great powers.

Charles II. of Spain died in the last year of the seventeenth century, without an heir. In him ended the Spanish branch of the house of Hapsburg. A contest ensued for the succession, between the Austrian Hapsburg and an allied branch of the Bourbons, a grandson of Louis XIV., Philip of Anjou. France with her allies defended the claim of Philip, while Austria with her allies, including England, Holland, Savoy and Portugal. maintained that of the archduke Charles. The war closed with putting Philip on the throne; but with great limitations, and the loss of all the Italian states—Lombardy, Milan, Sardinia, Naples, and Sicily—which had belonged to Spain.

In that war, distinguished by the exploits of Marlborough and Prince Eugene, and lasting from 1701 to 1713, the Duke of Savoy, Victor Amadeus, though he first joined France, soon changed, and fought on the side of Austria. His reward was the enlargement of his narrow dominions, at the expense of the allies of France in northern Italy, and the annexation of Sicily, taken from Spain. With that extent of territory, he was honored with the title of king. Austria received the rest of the Spanish states in Italy. Four years afterwards, Victor Amadeus accepted Sardinia in exchange for Sicily. Thus Austria came into possession of the two neighboring states of Sicily and Naples, and Victor Amadeus became king of Sardinia, a title which his successors retained until Victor Emanuel became king of Italy.

Again, during the occupation of the great powers with the war of the Polish succession, 1733 and 1734, Don Carlos, a son of the Bourbon King of Spain, and duke of Parma and Placentia in right of his mother, led a Spanish force into Naples, and took possession of both it and Sicily. Under arrangements of the succeeding peace, he was allowed to retain his conquest, on condition of surrendering Parma and Placentia to Austria.

Thus the Dukes of Savoy became Kings, a Bourbon was placed on the throne of Spain, another on that of Naples and Sicily, while the house of Austria held the best of Northern Italy.

In the North, the little state of Prussia, made a kingdom in 1701, was gradually enlarging her bounds, to which important additions were made, with a still greater addition of military strength, in the reign of Frederick II., who came to the throne in 1740.

Russia, champion of the Greek Church, also continued her course of territorial enlargement, especially to the east and south.

Poland, lying between Russia, Prussia and Austria, was distracted by internal dissentions. Russian arms were now in condition to retaliate invasion, in the interest of Greek Catholics. Austria had an interest in protecting Roman Catholics, and Prussia, Protestants. A treaty was concluded, in 1773, by those three powers, for the dismemberment of Poland, the greater part of which they divided among themselves, and occupied their respective portions by force of arms.

The Venetians, who had long held dominion in Southern Greece, were finally expelled from that country in 1718, when it came entirely into the hands of the Turks, and Venice ceased to be a power of any importance. Her superiority in trade was lost before.

All the great political and military changes tended relatively to diminish the Romish states, and build up the Protestant, and, to some degree, the Greek. A new and strong kingdom was added to the Protestant connection. The number of Romish Kingdoms remained the same. If Poland was absorbed, Sardinia was set up. And Sardinia has proved a liberal power. Romish Poland was not.

To sum up briefly, the secular changes of the time most favorable to progress of religious liberty were

1. The Peace of Westphalia, 1648.
2. The English Commonwealth, 1849—1660.
3. The English Revolution, 1688—89—90.
4. The war of the Spanish succession—which reduced the power of both France and Spain, the greatest, and most relentless champions of religious intolerance—1701—1713—14.
5. The erection of Prussia into a kingdom—1701.
6. The Union of England and Scotland, 1707.

7. The first steps of the Dukes of Savoy towards royalty and a liberal policy—the elevation of that royal dynasty destined to set the example of free religion among Romanists, to unite Italy, and extinguish the temporal power of the Papacy.

THE SPIRIT OF RECENT RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

Ancient civilization leaned to art; the modern gives prominence to science; and the only culture proper to the middle ages was shaped by sacerdotal constraint. In another light, the activity of the human mind was shown in ancient times chiefly by constructiveness, in the middle ages, by credulity, and in the modern is determined by criticism. At all times of any note in human history there are two moral forces in operation—the conservative, and the progressive. In modern church history these are each subdivided. The two progressive forces are Evangelism and Rationalism; the two conservative, are literal Orthodoxy and Ritualism. Each side has its extremes. Rationalism is followed by Infidelity, and honest Ritualism, by Superstition. There is a perfunctory ritualism which is only a screen for unbelief.

Thus stand the great religious forces of modern times; on one hand, Conservatism, with the mass of truth on her side, content with not losing ground; and Ritualism with a strong tendency to go backward into Jewish, if not heathen observances; on the other, Evangelism and Rationalism, both hopeful of still better things to come, and laboring to bring them about; but the latter seeking to advance by means of human reason, and the former, in the power of the Holy Spirit. They are directly opposed to each other, as to principle of action, but are on the same side in relation to Conservatism. Against everything which cannot give a satisfactory account of itself they alike make war. And yet there is a point at which they separate. When it comes to the question of surrendering some doctrine of the Gospel to the demands of a philosophy, Evangelism seeks a more congenial position with Conservatism. On the other side Ritualism sometimes seeks the alliance of Rationalism, in seeking an explanation of the forms it employs. By Ritual-

ism I do not mean merely the using of rites in worship; for all christians use some rites; but the faith of those who repose their hope of salvation upon the observance of rites.

Evangelization is the central force by which the kingdom of Christ is carried forward. It has been supported by a series of revivals, occurring at intervals of time and place, increasing in frequency with the onward progress of the church, and giving greater spirituality to christian profession. The rationalist is the human side of modern historical progress.

Christian Rationalism seeks to interpret Scripture and defend it in accordance with, and on the level of human reason and may be entirely consistent with Gospel truth, and helpful in its exposition. It errs when it excludes everything above the level of human reason. Skepticism doubts about accepting Scripture as true, and Infidelity rejects it entirely.

The objection to Rationalism does not lie in its being reasonable, but in the nature of the fruits which are expected from the action of reason. Reason cannot get out of its material more than its material contains. Man and all the rest of the natural universe are contained in the decrees of God; but God's decrees are not all contained in the natural universe. A man, by reasoning from what he finds in the universe, may come to true conclusions about what he has found, but can never rise into the region of those divine decrees, which are not contained in the natural universe. But revelation of God's plan of saving sinful men, and of his disposition towards men, is not contained in the natural universe, and cannot therefore be deduced from it. Nor can it be determined from the natural universe what the plan of salvation ought to be. Revelation is a separate product of the creative mind, additional to the natural universe, and must be learned, as we learn the facts of the universe, by intuition and faith in its own proper facts, before we are in condition to deal with it rationally. The unchristian rationalist lacks in breadth of generalization, because his induction is not sufficiently comprehensive. He takes into view only the natural, and of course gets only the

natural in his conclusion. His religious oversight leads to philosophical error, and thence to false doctrine.

Ritualism opposes Evangelism from the other side, and on the still lower ground that compliance with the ordinances of the church is true union with the church, and thereby secures salvation. It is opposed to Rationalism, on the ground that there is a supernatural agency in the ordinances. Unable to encounter the rationalist on his ground, it assumes the attitude of unquestionable authority. Accordingly, within the bosom of a ritualist church, Rationalism is usually driven into silent, if not outspoken, infidelity.

In the succeeding part of our narrative, these are the forces whose action we shall chiefly have to record. And we shall find them all, in all branches of the church, in constant conflict, and most active where the church is most active.

THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES, FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA TO THE EVE OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

I. Lutheranism.

As in France we have found the greatest mental activity of Romanism, during this period, so in Germany shall we find the principal arena of Lutheranism. That branch of the church has, from the age of the Reformation, held sway in Northern Germany and the Scandinavian countries; but has never made much way beyond those bounds except by colonizing. A part of the population of Hungary and on the lower Danube, and a few churches in France and elsewhere are of that connection; but whoever would follow the history of Lutheranism must look to its changes in Germany.

During the sixteenth century the members of that communion were very strict in exacting conformity with their standard books; but in the course of the seventeenth, and especially after the middle of it, a degree of laxity began to prevail. The Thirty years war, though waged in the cause of religion, was prejudicial to the higher religious interests, and in its close, the Lutheran Church, having won the battle of her own independence, settled down to take her rest. Amid the religious cold-

ness, which succeeded—the sluggishness of a formal and finished theology, and the deep and widely prevailing godlessness in general society, a few persons united themselves in an effort to bring their own minds more immediately into contact with the Scriptures. Their meetings were commenced in 1670, at the instance, and under the direction of Philip Jacob Spener, a zealous and devoted pastor at Frankfort on the Main. In 1686 he carried the same efforts to Dresden, where he was appointed court preacher, and in 1691, to Berlin. Thus arose the Pietist revival.

In 1695, the Wittenberg divines charged Spener with heresy, and denounced two hundred and sixty-four errors, which they professed to have found in his writings. He and his friends defended themselves. And so arose the Pietist controversy. Spener died in 1705; but the revival went on, in the hands of others, among whom the most conspicuous was A. H. Francke. A large party sustained the cause, and, in ~~1694~~, the University of Halle was founded in its interest.

It was whilst Jansenism was laboring to revive orthodoxy in the Roman Catholic Church, and the Quietists were earnestly seeking "a closer walk with God," that the Pietist revival arose, apparently in a similar spirit, but in more favorable circumstances, of healthier and fuller growth, and productive of more abundant fruit. Halle became the centre of its operations—more than its Port-Royal. In addition to the University, Francke there established an Orphan school, which soon became a great educational institute, and before his death, in 1727, numbered over twenty-two hundred pupils. Fellow laborers in the university with Francke were Breithaupt, Lange, Anton and Wolf; and, as inspectors of the school, successively the Baumgartens, father and son. For forty years from the beginning of its University, Halle continued to be a fountain of healthy christian activity. And yet within the same time the seeds were planted there of another growth, namely, the most vigorous element of that style of rationalism which soon extended to all Germany.

Christian Wolf commenced his illustrious philosophical career in 1703, and became professor in Halle in 1707.

Desirous of securing the utmost clearness and certainty in the conception and presentation of truth, he adopted a severe mathematical method, and in treating of religion, laid down as first principles, certain conditions, which he held must characterize a revelation. Some of his disciples carried those *apriori* assumptions to a greater length than he, and undertook to prove the absolute necessity of a revelation, and "vicarious satisfaction for mankind," and the truth of separate doctrines revealed in the Bible. Thus human reason began to "assume the position of a judge rather than an interpreter of Scripture."

Rejected at first by the Pietists, this philosophy, in course of time, met with acceptance from many of them. It sympathized with their opinion that the regenerated heart is to judge of the spiritual meaning of Scripture by its own feelings, and led it astray, thereby ultimately creating a separation from the Pietist movement. The persuasion grew up, and widely prevailed that the reason of man is able to discover what is true in divine things, that it has a test for the teaching of revelation in its own *a priori* determinations, and the feelings of the pious heart. The exercise of such criticism could not be limited to men spiritually prepared to appreciate divine truth.

About the same time, a third element was introduced, which although adverse to the spirit of Pietism, in its humble and implicit faith, combined with, and hastened the development of the error taking root in it. The influx of the doctrines of Deism from England had, both directly and indirectly, great effect upon German opinion. On one point the earlier deists coincided with the Pietists and the Wolfian philosophy, namely in addressing their criticism to the substance of Scripture. Their attack upon its evidences came in later, and its substance was always their principal aim.

At the point of time when these elements had united in giving birth to a new style of thinking about revelation, an improved science of Hermeneutics appeared, which that new style of thinking forthwith applied, or perverted, to its purpose. That method may be dated from the publication of the Institutes of interpretation by

Ernesti, in 1761. Its rules for determining the meaning words of and phrases were soon turned as an instrument to the discussion of the whole substance of Scripture. The method underwent some modification as applied by Michaelis to the Hebrew Scriptures, and in the hands of Semler, who introduced the principle of accommodation, and thereby opened a wide door for novelty.

All the agencies thus combined were initiated by men of earnest well meaning purpose, if not all men of real piety, and yet the result proved to be one of the coldest varieties of christian rationalism. Its philosophical element was still further deteriorated when it accepted, in a way consistent with itself, the sensationalism of Locke. That style of thinking which grew up, in the seventeenth century and first years of the eighteenth, in the philosophical succession through DesCartes, Leibnitz and Wolf received a new ingredient from connection with English philosophy, an ingredient which tended to confine it to the limits of the outer senses, and results of their experience.

To begin thinking from a point beyond which thought cannot go, to think clearly in sequence, and to reach thereby reliable conclusions in religion, morals, and existence generally, was the exalted purpose of those great men. In religion, as in everything else, there was no starting point, no basis of authority, save the axioms which were assumed as the foundation of all thinking. Experience was assumed as furnishing the material, and reason as the capacity and arbiter of truth. The stay and direction of Scripture was, if not professedly, yet virtually, and of necessity, set aside, or admitted only in as far as consistent with the philosophic system.

Clearness was held to be the measure of truth. "Truth," said Leibnitz," is that which does not contradict itself, and for which a sufficient reason can be adduced." The former principle proves that a given proposition is possible, the latter that it expresses a reality.

Reason was accepted as the natural sense of truth, and clearness the criterion of truth. After the introduction of Locke's ideas, commonsense took the place of reason, or reason came to be used in the meaning of

commonsense; and experience was content with a lower and narrower position than Locke had designed for it.

Thus, the popular philosophy which succeeded Wolf's, and reigned alone, from the middle to the end of the eighteenth century, stood upon the narrow platform of sense experience, and accepted commonsense as the criterion of all truth. Employed in the exposition of Scripture and of the doctrines of christianity, it constituted, with the other elements already mentioned, the German Rationalism of the eighteenth century: and in the service of unbelief it was the logical power of the infidel. At the same time it was the philosophy of all classes alike, believers and unbelievers. By believers it was deemed as orthodox as the Gospel, and all defences of Scripture were constructed in accordance with it, and by its means. Whatever might be a man's spiritual experience, he felt bound, when philosophizing, to reduce all higher things to a few common elements, and claimed no recognition for an original existence of that inner power, which possesses the descernment of spiritual things—the intuition belonging to that faith which is the gift of God. In general, it was a style of thinking better adapted to produce the polish and attractiveness of popular literature, than to investigation of fundamental principles.

Its method of criticism may be briefly stated thus. In order to get at the truth in any case, reject as incredible whatever lies beyond the capacity of commonsense, or reduce it to identity with something else which is within that capacity. In christianity, of course, you will have to exclude, or explain away all revelations, all miracles, and all prophecy, and accept only the natural facts. And if the natural facts recorded do not admit of such handling as to explain away the supernatural, you must betake yourself to some plausible hypothesis, which shall reduce the whole to the measure of common sense and common experience.

Philosophers and theologians stood on the same philosophic ground with the deists; and the education of the young was conducted on the assumption that it was the only philosophy consistent with christian profession. Ministers of the gospel thought it the most effective way

of interpreting and defending Scripture ; and deists fearlessly applied it to refute all revelation, and to show that no testimony is competent to sustain it. The weakness of the very party in the church, which opposed the low rationalism of the day, consisted in standing upon the same philosophic ground.

Through the coöperation of those agencies upon the popular mind, but still more upon the educated, through the literature growing up in their spirit, and the fashionable style of preaching, rationalism reached its full development ere the last quarter of the eighteenth century began, and of everything in religion above what man can do for himself threatened to be utterly subversive.

The spirit of rationalism was far from new, but a new form of it was thus developed, according to which ministers of the christian church were no longer witnesses for Christ, but philosophers to demonstrate a commonsense theology, and to enforce it by so explaining Scripture as to exclude everything above the measure of common experience.

Although a principle wrapt up in the bosom of Pietism, when brought into coöperation with agencies of error, conspired to the production of pernicious results, its effect, as a whole upon the church was for good. Many who adhered tenaciously to the formal orthodoxy of their standards, were roused to greater diligence and zeal in the study of Scripture; some as sympathizing with the spirit of the Pietists, and some as strenuous champions of orthodoxy against all innovations, and against all separation from the establishment. Some accepted the philosophy of Wolf, yet retained their orthodox doctrine and consistent christian life, and labored to defend the harmony of faith with their philosophy. Others took the symbols of their church simply as they stood, as objects of history : their doctrines were not to be subjected to the test of any man's feelings, or to the tribunal of any man's understanding, but simply received or rejected as they stood. Thus were Lutheran theologians divided.

Halle itself, after the death of its first set of professors, began to divide also into two parties, one of which passed

over to rationalism, while the other went to an opposite extreme of unscientific mysticism. For a time the latter prevailed; but subsequently, towards the end of the century, and far into the next the University came almost entirely under the control of rationalists.

But, even when, at its centre, Pietism had become degenerate, the benign influence exerted by it was still alive, in connection with other kindred movements. It molded some of the finest products of German literature, and quickened pastoral labor in many a quarter where its presence was not recognized. Its gentle and kindly liberality obtained admission for it with a few German Catholics. In this direction, however, the history of religion becomes personal, and without organization.

A more important outgrowth of Pietism was that which gave and received support from union with the remnant of the Bohemian Brethren.

The Moravians.

In the Thirty years war, the calamities which fell upon the Bohemian protestants were largely shared by the Moravians, who were counted with them. Great numbers suffered death. Their churches were destroyed. "Their schools were closed, and their Bibles, and other religious books burned beneath the gallows." For a long time their community barely survived in a state of deep depression. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, Bohemia and Moravia were completely under the papal yoke. In that depth of its calamities the remnant of those suffering churches had provided for it the friend, who established it upon a peaceful and secure foundation.

One of the pupils of the Orphan House, at Halle, Louis Count Zinzindorf, becoming acquainted with the doctrines and sufferings of that much persecuted people, offered a remnant of their community a settlement and protection on his estates at Berthelsdorf, in upper Lusatia. They gladly accepted the offer, and collected in such number as to make a little village. Their first settlement at the place called Herruhut was made in 1722, and in 1727, they accepted the terms proposed to them by

County Zinzindorf, and were organized, as the renewed church of the United Brethren, in accordance with his views, as a missionary church. In 1735 the Count himself became their bishop ordained by a Moravian bishop at Berlin. Banished from Saxony, with a few companions, he visited most nations of Northern Europe, with a view to the remnants of their own communion, now widely dispersed. In 1741, he visited America, and set on foot the Moravian system of missions to the Indians, and founded the schools of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and Litiz, in Pennsylvania, and Salem, in North Carolina. In 1748, he finally obtained from the ecclesiastical council of Electoral Saxony the recognition of his congregations as connected with the churches professing the Augsburg Confession. By the influence of Archbishop Potter, the British Parliament, in 1749, enacted that the church of the United Brethern was to be respected as a Protestant Episcopal church. Some of them were already residents of England and formed a congregation in London. With some serious mistakes at first, which were subsequently corrected, or softened down, that little body of christians had already entered upon their efforts for conversion of the world. In 1732, their missionaries went to Greenland; in 1734, to Lapland; in 1736, to the negroes in Georgia; in the same year, to the Hottentots; in 1737, to the coast of Guinea; in 1739, to the negroes in South Carolina; also in that year, to Algiers; in 1740, to Ceylon, to the Jews at Amsterdam, and to the Gypsies, and from the time of Zinzindorf's visit to America, several missions were established among the Indians.

Thus, although the theology of Pietism was divided, and underwent some change, its originally benign impulses extended far in various directions. In 1815 the University of Wittenberg was removed and added to that of Halle, which has recently been greatly revived.

The Wolfenbuttel Fragments.

On the side of rationalism, an important event occurred in the year 1774. The first number of a series of articles was published by Lessing, as the work of an unknown author, found in the Library of Wolfenbüttel.

The rest appeared at different times, from 1774 to 1778, as separated fragments; and were subsequently found to have been written by Prof. Reimarus, of Hamburg, who had died in 1768.

The Wolfenbüttel Fragments argued in defence of rationalism, and against the possibility of a revelation, which should possess sufficient evidence to render it worthy of universal confidence, and endeavored to explain away all that was out of the ordinary course of nature in the life of Jesus. They were the matured fruit of a style of thinking, which for more than a whole generation had been growing up by the development and union of various agencies. The philosophy which admitted only common experience, and tested all by the decisions of mere commonsense, and accepted as true that alone which coincided clearly with their measure, was of course as incapable of grasping revelation, as a man's hand is incapable of grasping a sunbeam.

Great opposition was made to the Fragments. But their opponents were furnished with no efficient weapon. For they all used the same method, and admitted the same philosophic principles. Christians then, as always, knew, in some degree, the existence of a spiritual experience within them, which had not arisen there in the ordinary course of nature, and which was as real to them as the information of the senses; but it was not within the range of their philosophy. Every advantage in debate was therefore on the side of the unbeliever: and the believer rested upon what his philosophy took no cognizance of. The fragments are important as serving to mark an epoch of rationalist progress.

Swedenborgianism.

In the history of the Lutheran Churches in the Scandinavian countries, the most remarkable event was the rise of Swedenborgianism, which had no peculiar relation to the Lutheran doctrine, inasmuch as it claimed to be a new revelation, setting the whole of the foregoing in a new light.

Emmanuel von Swedenborg was a Swedish gentleman of great learning and science, who, from 1743, when

he was fifty-four years of age separated himself from all seculiar pursuits, including high official position under the government of Sweden, to devote himself to religious studies. He removed to London, where he wrote most of his mystic works, and died in 1772 at an advanced age.

Swedenborg professed that in the year 1743, his eyes had been opened to see into the spiritual world, and that he had received the gift of understanding the language of angels, which he retained to the end of his days; that he had enjoyed revelations directly from the Lord, and had several times been admitted into heaven. In Scripture he distinguished two meanings, the natural and the spiritual, the latter, inclosed in the former, and corresponding to the state of things in heaven. A number of Scripture books he rejected as not inspired. Other things upon earth have also their correspondencies in heaven, which, relieved from earthly grossness, are in form and relatively to their surroundings the same as those upon earth. He taught that there is only one life, which is God, and all the Divine Trinity was contained in Christ. He rejected the doctrine of original sin, held man to be free, but exposed to the influences of good and evil spirits, and indebted to God for all the good that belongs to him. According to his doctrine, justification is not by faith alone. The man who has charity—fears God, and works righteousness—" what ever his religious sentiments may be, will be saved." Each true believer contains the church in himself. The outer church is a society composed of persons in each of whom the church is, and its name under his revelations, is the church of the New Jerusalem. The last judgment is already over. It occurred in the year 1757. And the New Jerusalem, predicted in the Apocalypse, has descended in the form of the New Church.

The visions of Swedenborg took effect upon certain minds as a relief, in the opposite extreme, from prevailing rationalism, and was the more acceptable that certain threads of rationalism were interwoven with it. Of late years it has undergone revision, but with what amount of alteration perhaps none but its adherents correctly know.

II. The Reformed Churches.

Of the Reformed Church a great many divisions might be made, and in some lights would seem to be necessary to a complete treatment of the subject. Closer inspection discovers that real grounds of difference are much fewer than they seem. The broadest and most obvious is that which exists in reference to government, between the Prelatic and Anti-Prelatic. On that scale they may be classified as follows:

I. Prelatic.

1. The Reformed Anglican Church.
2. The Irish Episcopal Church.
3. The Episcopal Church in Scotland.
4. The Episcopal Churches of the British Colonies.
5. And the Protestant Episcopal Church of the United States; retaining the Diocesan Episcopacy, without the archiepiscopal rank and the Primacy.

II. Anti-Prelatic.

a.) On the plan of government by Presbyters, and organic union of churches.

1. The national established Church of Holland.
2. The established Churches of protestant Switzerland.
3. The Reformed Church of France.
4. The German Reformed Churches, in as far as not united with the Lutheran.
5. The Reformed Church of Hungary, associated with the Lutheran, in the same country.
6. The established Church of Scotland, with all its branches, in England and the British Colonies. Also its dissenters, the Free Church of Scotland, the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, and the Reformed Presbyterian.
7. The Presbyterian Churches in Ireland.
8. The Presbyterian Churches in America, including the descendants of various European nationalities.

b.) On the plan of government by Presbyters, but without organization in Presbyteries.

1. Independents.
2. Baptists, who in government are independents.
3. Congregationalists.

4. Methodists, except one branch in the United States, and its colonies or missions.

III. On the plan of combining some elements of the Episcopal and Presbyterian systems.

1. The Methodist Episcopal Church of America.

2. The Moravians and Waldenses begin their history prior to the Reformation, but are to be classed with the Reformed Churches on this scale.

In respect to doctrine, the Reformed churches take their stand upon the ancient Catholic Orthodoxy, of the Nicene Creed, and the theology of Augustine, which they have further described and expounded. The variations from that standard have been chiefly in the direction of Arminian, Pelagian, or Unitarian doctrine. But their dismembered condition is due much more to the violent persecutions to which, in some countries they were long subjected, and from the effects of which they have not yet entirely recovered.

Protestantism in Hungary.

While the Protestants of Bohemia and Moravia were, in the issue of the Thirty years war, almost entirely crushed, those of Hungary proved too numerous and strong for Jesuitical success. Through the skill and noble firmness of their leader Prince Bethlen, the worst effects of that war were averted, and subsequently, under the Transylvanian Rakotzy, in 1645, they secured the recognition of their religious rights by the treaty of Linz. It could not however be completely carried into effect. When the war closed, the Catholic clergy and the Jesuits, whose power was then reaching its prime, combined with the King and the army to exterminate the Protestants. That severity continued from the accession of Leopold, in 1657, until his death, in 1705, kept in check to some degree, and for a short time, by the Prince Palatine Venelényi Hadad. The reign of Joseph I. was more lenient. His early death was a serious loss to the Protestants. They however obtained a renewed admission of rights soon after, in the peace of Szathmar, May 10, 1711, which was put in force when Charles VI. came to the throne, 1712; but not without much interruption by

the Jesuits and Romish Bishops. Maria Theresa, from 1741, sustained the Jesuits, and persecution was renewed, and continued through all her sole reign. When her son Joseph II. began to assist in the government, oppression had some limit put upon it. Soon afterward the Jesuit order was abolished, a great relief to Hungary. The reforms made by Joseph II. after his mother's death, though from the brevity of his reign, lacking time to mature, were a great blessing to Hungary, and to the whole empire. But they were far in advance of the age: and when he died, in 1790, his brother Leopold II. who succeeded him on the throne for two years, alone appreciated, and labored to maintain them. Leopold II, died 1792, while the first scenes of the great revolution were being acted in France. The next heir of the empire Francis II. allowed the old ecclesiastical despotism, as far as was practicable, to creep back into its place. Through all his reign, the complaints against it he answered with promises, which he never made an effort to keep, until it became impossible for him, had he wished it.

Church of Geneva.

Orthodoxy was still, in the seventeenth century, taught in the schools, and preached in the churches of Geneva. Francis Turretin died in 1687. It seemed as if he had built up defences of the truth which could never be broken down. Dependence upon his work more than upon the direct lessons of Scripture may have had something to do with the subsequently diminished effect of that work. His gifted son, J. Alfons Turretin, silently drifted in the direction of a unitarian theology. And after his death, 1737, the progress was rapid. Arian and Socinian doctrines had before the end of the century "usurped the pulpits of Calvin and Beza." It was a change effected by the working of the same popular philosophy, which was bringing about similar changes elsewhere.

Moreover, some of the leaders of French Deism were connected with Geneva, or its vicinity, and helped forward the causes working to that end. Such were Rou-

sean and Voltaire, to whom may be added the Englishman Gibbon, who spent the best part of his days on the shores of the lake of Geneva. The ministers of that canton, it is true, condemned the godlessness of Rousean; and thereby provoked his scathing criticism of themselves; but they were not in condition to encounter him on the solid ground of Scripture faith and doctrine. The two great French deists died in the same year, 1778, and the Englishman in 1794.

Reformed Church of France.

The Edict of Nantes, in which Henry IV. granted toleration to protestants in France, was revoked in 1685. It was at an enormous sacrifice of the national industry that Louis XIV. granted that favor to Jesuit policy. When he found his skilled artisans leaving the country by hundreds and thousands he applied violence to retain them, waylaying them by detachments of military. Notwithstanding at least half a million of his most valuable subjects, whom he had outlawed, found their way into Holland, Switzerland, England, America, and other countries. Those who remained in France were subjected to every annoyance conceivable, with the view of harassing them into Romanism. Their sufferings excited and disordered the minds of many. Fanatics arose among them, known in England as the French prophets. In Languedoc they organized resistance, and under the name of Camisards, successfully defended themselves with arms for twenty years. In 1704, they laid down their arms, upon receiving fair promises, and their leader John Cavalier, and some of the rest entered the King's service. Cavalier afterwards removed to England. Whatever his expectations of relief to his followers, they were not realized. Persecution went on. Protestants were harassed with military execution, many of them were put to death, and their churches were seized or destroyed. And yet, after all, some two millions remained attached to the Reformed Church. Wherever their exiles took refuge, they proved to be a valuable addition to the industry and moral character of the population.

The injury to France appeared in various ways. The morals of the people degenerated; their intellectual free-

dom declined; the national superiority in manufactures came to an end; and the guilty King's success in arms began to waver, until after repeated defeats, he was constrained to beg for peace, and escaped the most humiliating terms only by a party in the council of his enemies.

Louis XV. succeeded his grandfather, in 1715, and retained the throne sixty years, during the whole of which time the Huguenots were out of the protection of law. Their church was in the desert. By the royal declaration of 1729, the penalty for preaching the gospel was death, and for affording comfort or shelter to the preachers, imprisonment, or the galleys.

In the end of the comparatively lenient administration of Fleury, 1744, the Reformed of France made a heroic attempt to collect their energies, and held their first national synod. The activity of persecution was forthwith renewed, and continued, with greater or less violence, all the rest of the reign of Louis XV.

The more humane character of Louis XVI, who succeeded in 1774, and the more liberal sentiments beginning to prevail in Society had an effect favorable to lightening the weight of oppression. But it was not until Louis XVI. had been on the throne twelve years that any action was taken to remove the disabilities of protestants. In 1787, an Edict, which met with great opposition in the French Parliament, was got out, granting them permission to meet for public worship, and the right to hold property and to bequeath it. But for that they were indebted, not to any relaxation of Romish intolerance, or to royal favor, but to the rising tide of rationalism, which soon afterwards broke the complex tyranny, and scattered its distinctions to the waves.

The Reformed Church of Holland.

In the history of the Reformed Church of Holland there are four successive periods distinctly marked; first from the Reformation to the national Synod of Dort (Dordrecht) 1618–19; second, from 1618 until the introduction of Neology, about 1775; third, from that latter date, through the decline of Orthodoxy and disorganization brought about by revolution, until the reconstruc-

tion of Church order in 1816; and fourth, from 1816 until the present time.

By action of the General Synod of Dort, Calvinism was strongly maintained in the Dutch Reformed Church, in opposition to Arminianism, which was defined off as heresy. The Remonstrants, as the Arminian party were called, from the remonstrance presented by them to the States-General of Holland in 1610, though greatly in the minority, did not cease to be an important religious sect, and in course of time were morally strengthened by adherents to their doctrines elsewhere.

The five heads of doctrine of the Synod of Dort thenceforward continued to be the theological standards of the Church of Holland. They treat of Divine predestination, of the death of Christ, in its sufficiency to save sinners, of the depravity of human nature, of its regeneration and redemption by sovereign grace, and of the perseverance of the saints.

From the general Synod of 1618–19, until 1816, the Synods which followed were only provincial. Most of the intervening time, each province had its own church government. They were all similarly organized, and kept up their connection by deputies whom the provincial synods sent to one another.

The period from 1618 to 1775 was one of very active theological discussions; and deep into the heart of them, at an early stage, entered the Cartesian philosophy. Essentially skeptical, it was condemned by the States-General in 1656, but could not by such action be excluded from individual thinking. Baruch Spinoza, a Jew of Portuguese parentage, born at Amsterdam in 1632 (d 1677), created also some sensation by his system of pantheism, but wrought less harm in Holland than in Germany.

The ablest adversary of Descartes was Voëtius, Prof. of theology at Utrecht (d 1677), the advocate of an elaborate scholasticism, introduced by Maccopius prof. of Theo. at Franeker (d 1644) which went to make the whole subject of religion a branch of philosophy, on the basis of the Calvinistic system.

That however created a reaction from the side of those who dreaded its effects in a hard formulizing of

everything, alike in science and religious life. John Cocceius, prof. at Franeker and Leyden (d. 1669) labored to bring theology back to the Scriptures, and instituted what has been called the Federal Theology, from the fundamental ideas which it presented of a "two fold covenant of God with man." Christ was its central idea. It dwelt largely upon the types which foreshadowed him and the prophecies of his coming. The system is contained in the works of Cocceius called "*Summa doctrinae de Foedere et Testamento Dei*," and "*Summa Theologicae ex Scripturis repetita*," and inspires his voluminous commentaries. It was further developed by his followers, Burmann, Heidanus and Witsius. Thus the main current of debate for a hundred years, was determined by the systems of Voëtius and Cocceius. Political parties sought their aid, the supporters of the Prince of Orange taking sides with the Voëtians; and the liberal Republicans with the Cocceians. Among the Arminians the most gifted and learned, in the first half of the 17th century, was Hugo Grotius (d. 1645), who amid his many political and legal labors, found time to write with much effect in defence of the christian religion.

The 17th century and first half of the 18th constituted to Holland her most illustrious period of theological authors and classical scholars. Her universities were then in their prime. With their strict standards of Orthodoxy and liberal toleration, the United Provinces became a safe assylum for religious refugees from persecution in other lands.

The debates arising out of the Cartesian philosophy, as well as for and against its influence in theology, gradually died out, in the course of the 18th century, as the Newtonian system took its place in the Dutch Universities.

In the line of freethinking, Peter Bayle, a French Protestant, who took refuge in Holland, where he had been appointed to a professorship at Rotterdam, published while there several works on religion, morals and general literature, which attained great celebrity, especially his Dictionary historical and critical, which appeared in 1697. It was constructed on a plan admitting of the

utmost freedom in the choice and treatment of topics—an alphabetical arrangement unpledged to completeness in any department, with notes appended at will. Great was the influence of the book upon both historical criticism and popular thinking. Though not an opponent of christianity, Bayle was unsettled in his views of truth, and applied himself to the exhibition of difficulties, collecting materials for others of more decided purpose to use. He died in 1706 under the charge of heresy.

In the midst of many adversaries, and in the exercise of a liberal toleration, the Church of Holland, through the greater part of the 18th century, saw her Reformed Orthodoxy well maintained. But a change crept in. What was called the "New Light," as advanced by Kleman, 1774, in his work on the connection between Grace and Duty, and by Hammelsfeld and other writers, near the same date, is to be regarded as the incipient manifestation of that error, which for a time almost submerged the orthodoxy of Dort. Although Kleman retracted his error, and others submitted to restraint in the use of words of heretical meaning, yet the influx of Deism from England, and of Atheism from France, proved stronger than the barriers erected against them. And in the effect of rationalism from Germany, of the Kantian, as well as commonsense type, in accordance with which most of the ministers learned to think; even where no positive error was advanced, the Orthodox faith began to be preached in a cold and lifeless manner.

It was a melancholy view which the continent of Europe presented to the Christian at the opening of the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

THE RATIONALIST REVOLUTION.

We have arrived at the verge of a great juncture in the history of Christendom, a point upon which many potent and far spreading causes have converged their effects.

Monarchy had lost much in the thirty years and succeeding wars, and was no longer able, as in the sixteenth century, to withstand an onset of the educated public. Great Britain was already a constitutional monarchy, governed by the national representatives. And yet it was in one of the colonies of Great Britain that the people in defence of that very principle, commenced successfully the career of revolution. In Prussia, at the court of Frederick II., had been set up the headquarters of a godless philosophy which, derived from France, and in the style of French thinking, was corrupting, by Gallicizing the literature as well as the religion and moral force of Germany. France had just seen the death of her greatest deistical writers; but their works were in the full tide of popularity, and their main force was directed against despotism and irrational faith—the oppressive bondage of life and conscience which had been and still was carried to the last extreme in France.

The German empire, at that juncture, was governed by a wiser head and a better heart. But the broad and thorough reforms of the emperor Joseph II. were too far in advance of the time, to be duly appreciated even by the people whose real interests they promoted, and his reign, with that of his brother, did not last long enough to give practical demonstration of their benefits. Similar tendencies were manifesting themselves elsewhere; but more generally among the people, and especially the educated classes. The resistance of Rome proved ineffectual. Her arm was paralyzed, and her weapons fell short. She had been the hereditary and close ally of a despotism which in France was no longer to be tolerated. Public opinion had reached a precipice. All existing authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, were coming under the charge of imposture. They had been united in extorting, by deceit and violence, the earnings of the industrial classes, until the nation groan-

ed in utter inability to surrender more. To the religious, moral and political crisis was added, as really a fruit of the same causes in the government of France, a complete financial failure.

As a last resort of the government to procure money, a meeting of selected notables was called in 1788, by whom an assembly of the States-General was advised. That assembly, which met in May of next year, was, in the main, representative of the mind of France. The force of opinion which had been forming for two or three generations soon appeared. The leading minds proved to be pupils of Rousseau, accepting the doctrines of the Contrat Social. Self-constituted the National Assembly, June 16, it gave place, Sept. 21, to the National Convention, constituted in the same spirit. Reason was enthroned, and everything was rejected that militated against the popular theory. The movement became bolder as it proceeded. In the course of three years the monarchy was demolished, the king, first reduced to helplessness, then kept prisoner, was finally led to the scaffold. A republic was proclaimed. The churches were plundered, their silver plate sent to the mint to be coined, their religious services were interrupted. Priests were to be found among the officers of the revolutionary government. Those who refused to submit, or were suspected to be dangerous, if they failed to escape into exile, were condemned to death. Another stage was reached, the doctrinaires and philosophers were outrun by the popular passions which they had aroused. The leaders of the mob grasped the power. Philosophers themselves became the suspected. A reign of terror ensued. None could feel safe. It was impossible to see, from day to day, what new turn the movement might take. The Archbishop of Paris abandoned his profession and joined the revolution. The churches from which Gospel christianity had been so long banished by its professed ministers, were given up to the wantonness of the mob, and to mummeries under the name of reason. Instead of church festivals, came days consecrated to genius, to labor, to perfection and other abstractions.

A symptom of reaction appeared in a national festival in honor of the Supreme Being, celebrated on the 8th of July, 1794, and in which Robespierre officiated as a priest. After five years of a government by reason, people began to long for tranquility, ready almost to accept the direction of any strong rule which could secure it. But consequences had been incurred which were not yet exhausted. Armies were employed to enforce French freedom upon the nations. The Directory which sent them out was soon overwhelmed by the most successful of their generals, who rapidly rose from one degree of power to another, until he had gathered all the reins of government into his own hands. France became his treasure house, and her armies his weapons with which to scourge the nations, and build up an empire to his own glory. In the wars successively of the republic, the directory, the consulate, and the empire, the penalty fell upon the whole of Europe The political systems of Germany were dissolved, as well as those of the Romanic States to the south. The constitutional forms of both the Romish and Lutheran churches were shaken at the centre of their dominions. The heaviest blows fell where historical justice demanded, upon the head of the Papacy and its champions, the houses of Bourbon and of Hapsburg, and, on the side of the unchristian rationalists, upon the court of Berlin, and the revolutionists of France themselves. Prussia was for a time erased from the list of kingdoms, the Old German Empire was extinguished, the donation of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Papacy was revoked, and the Pope, who protested, was seized by order of Napoleon, and consigned to prison.

In the early years of that revolution, the enthusiasm which fired the armies of France was that of the propaganda of reason. Napoleon, in the course of time, extinguished it, by putting himself in the place of reason. That the political movement was the outgrowth of the doctrines of Rouseau was declared by the National Assembly in the public honors paid to that illustrious author. The actuating principle, though the growth of many causes, was one. It was the thorough conviction that the world was living in falsehood and suffering for

it, and that the popular philosophy was right, and that its establishment over the world would abolish the worst evils of human life.

Against such a powerful motive the other Romish nations, and the Protestant on the Continent were feeble; for the very reason that they entertained no doctrine adequate to resist it. The same way of thinking leavened deeply their own ranks. The soldiers of Germany and Italy fought in defence of their countries, it is true, but also of institutions in the justice of which they did not believe, and the oppressiveness of which they hated. The French fought on the side of their cordial convictions, and firmly believed themselves the liberators of the world. When French armies lost that impulse in seeing a despot appropriate all to himself, their victories began to lack in brilliancy; and when still further, they they came into conflict with a people, who were never much impressed by their principles, and, as a whole, were as tenacious of the opposite, as in the case partly of England, and entirely of Russia, the issue of war was reversed. Never was anything in practice more truly logical than the French Revolution. The world beheld with horror its inhuman cruelties, and desecration of every thing holy; but it was only the reduction to practice of doctrines which had been taught under sanction of the church, or which the church had encountered with only authority and penalties. Systematic suppression of gospel truth, in the Romish connection, had wrought effects kindred to those of a worldlimindedness in the Protestant, and the popular philosophy had, to a great extent, undermined the foundations of christian faith in both.

Like the English commonwealth, the French Revolution ended in what seemed to be utter failure, and yet was not failure. The immediate purposes of the actors did not succeed; but changes were effected, and principles were planted to germinate and bear good fruit in years to come.

The reign of rationalism was not all for evil. It swept away certain superstitions, which the world is well rid of, and put an end to certain traditionary beliefs, which had nothing but tradition to recommend them,

and practices which were a bondage to society. Governments were not all forthwith reconstructed as constitutional, but the working of ideas, then established in the minds of men, has ever since been in that direction. It would not be possible now to govern any European nation as France was governed in the reign of Louis XV., while the power of the Romish hierarchy was so broken that its former breadth and intensity of oppression have not since been united.

A New Philosophy.

While that practical revolution was going on, which had its centre in France, another was passing over the philosophy and religious views of Germany. It was a better method of thought that the thinking world needed. And a new, if not a better, at that time arose.

Emmanuel Kant was born in 1724, at Königsberg in Prussia. He entered the university of that city in 1740, and as student, tutor and professor, spent his life in connection with it. In 1770 he was elected to the ordinary professorship of Logic and Metaphysics, which he held until 1794, when he resigned owing to the infirmities of age. He died in 1804. His great work, the Critique of the Pure Reason, was published in 1781, his Critique of the Practical Reason, in 1788, his Critique of the Judgment, in 1790, and in 1793, his Religion within the bounds of the Pure Reason. Other publications from his pen appeared within the same time, and until 1798.

The Philosophy of Kant was transcendental in relation to the popular philosophy of that day, using transcendental as applied to the *a priori*, or necessary cognitions, which transcend the sphere of the knowledge acquired by experience; but it was discriminately a critical philosophy, a criticism of the very foundations upon which its predecessor stood, and took for settled. Its criticism was of the mental faculties with a view to ascertain invariable and necessary principles, to define their usage, and to form an estimate of them, "with reference to their formal character." Making the mind the centre of its system it sought to prepare the way by means of self-knowledge for a better state of philosophi-

cal science. But the forms of thought to which universality and necessity belong are subjective, and the work of Kant was merely a critical treatment of the phenomena of Consciousness. It opened no avenue to a knowledge of objective being.

While the new philosophy was slowly making its way among leading thinkers, and its progress, for many years was very slow, the popular rationalists carried the application of their principles to the last extreme. One of the most thorough going of the class was Paulus a professor at Heidelberg, who published a life of Jesus, a commentary on the New Testament, and other works. Extracts from his criticism of Scripture are sometimes given as specimens of rational exegesis, striking enough to secure attention, but belonging rather to the extreme than to the average. He died as late as 1851, at the age of ninety.

Kant was a christian: but his practical faith had no root in his philosophy, in which the objective stands unknown and unknowable, and the inner consciousness is the only thing absolutely necessary and stable. His treatment of christianity went to merge it in a moral system. God and the facts of revelation, belonging to the objective, the human reason can never immediately know them. A great gulf was left between the cognizing subject and all outer things.

Solution of that difficulty became the starting point for several subsequent philosophies. Fichte, a professor at Jena, and finally at Berlin, believed that he had found the solution in the intuition of the *Ego*. Intelligent being he designated the *Ego*: and all objective existence, as the *non Ego*. By an act of faith the former grasps and absorbs the latter into itself. In the adoption of that principle, the transcendental philosophy was essentially changed throughout. Thinking shaped every thing else. And alike God and the Universe were what the mind conceived them to be. God was the moral order of the universe, not existence but action; the universal ego in its activity and without limit.

The Fichtean philosophy, or as it was called philosophy of faith or science of knowing, had a more immedi-

ate popularity than the critical, but left no such solid work behind it, except in the extraordinary quickening of intellectual activity which it occasioned. A large class of literary men accepted its doctrines, as opening a wider range to the imagination.

Among the followers of Fichte the greatest eminence was attained by Shelling and Hegel. The former, while yet a youth, startled the philosophical world by a theory of even greater boldness than that of his master. "To be," said this new philosophy, "is to know." It derived all knowledge, not from the partial principle of the *Ego*, but from the absolute—the identity of subject and object, or, of knowing and being. God is the absolute, which represents itself as divided into the spheres of mind and nature, just as in the magnet we perceive the difference of the positive and negative poles, and can realize himself only in the existence of the universe, and especially of human nature. This was the central point of the philosophy of identity. It presented the outline, which Hegel afterward's described more firmly and filled up in his own way.

Hegel's system was variously called the philosophy of reason, of the absolute, or, of the ideal. It conceived of the absolute as the concrete unity of nature and mind. This unity Hegel called the Idea. It is not only the absolute content of all thinking, but also the substance of all being. And the field of the Hegelian philosophy is mapped out by the science of the idea in and for itself, the science of the idea representing itself externally, and the science of its return within itself, as Logic, Natural Philosophy and Mental Philosophy respectively. And the divisions and subdivisions of these are ramified out to a treatment of all known or conceivable existence. Religion comes under the Third head, and is defined as the true in the form of mental representation. Christianity, as the religion inwhich the unity of the divine and human is presented, contains the ultimate point of all truth. But the lower form alone of the idea is possessed in the several facts of christian history and dogma.

It was under the hand of Hegel that the transcendental philosophy reached its completeness. After his

death his followers divided into several sects, and that particular style of thinking gradually lost its power.

Hegel's work was done chiefly from 1817, when he commenced the journal for scientific criticism; until 1831, when he died. Shelling's philosophical career was commenced in his 21st year, when he was a student at Jena, and continued until 1812, when he was thirty-seven. From that date until 1841 he published nothing on philosophy. In 1841 he was appointed to the chair of philosophy in Berlin; but did not equal in power or attractiveness himself in his early days. If he gained less glory as a philosopher, he left the impression that he had become a truer christian. He soon withdrew again to his retirement, and died at Ragatz in Switzerland, August 20, 1854.

Followers of those great teachers, and holders to their systems, though dissenting from some of their doctrines, have been numerous, and some of hardly inferior renown. And out of this new philosophy, and especially that of Hegel, arose the later style of rationalism, more profound, more imaginative, of vastly wider range and abler grasp than its predecessor, but equally productive of error. Other elements have also entered into it from one side and another, going more or less to modify the philosophical. Pietism, Moravianism, strict Lutheranism, or Calvinism not only continued to assert themselves separately, but have also had their share in shaping the speculative views of later rationalists.

In the division, which followed the death of Hegel, the pantheistic branch of his philosophy grafted itself on the university of Tübingen, which had formerly been pietist; and there produced its fruits in the writings of Strauss, Zeller and Christian Baur, while others, like Daub, Marheincke and Dorner, took the opposite course towards a more scriptural doctrine. The extremes may be represented by Strauss, Bruno Baur, and Feurbach, on the one hand, and Dorner, on the other, while Christian Baur occupied a middle ground.

Of the transcendental philosophy, in all its stages, as now a thing of the past, we may say that, after all, its extravagances, its arbitrary speculations, and cloudland

theories, which have disappeared, or are destined to disappear, it has accomplished some solid work. It has determined attention to important truths, which the previous philosophy had overlooked; to the truth that nature is not a dead mechanism, but operated by a spiritual power, between which and the soul of man there is a sympathy, mysterious, but real and active; that the past is not dead, that, although irretrievable, it can never die, that it belongs to the eternal organism of the universe; that the church is not a mere incidental society but an organic body, actuated by a common spiritual life distinguishing it from the world; that its doctrines are the laws, or expressions of that life, and that worship is the solemn act of acknowledging the higher relations of the soul. It constrained attention to the fact that there is in man a capacity to apprehend God and spiritual as well as material things—things above the reach of the senses, and a capacity whereby to accept a spiritual experience. And a style of thinking was introduced in accordance with which the mysteries of faith, and of the life in God could be spoken of without exposure to ridicule. Whatever mistakes the transcendentalists made, and some of their mistakes were stupendous, they did not overlook the supersensuous. Although they had no place for the supernatural, they opened so wide a world beyond that of common life that men could again speak freely of the realities unseen, of the dealings of God with the soul, of the union of God and man, and of a life which the outer senses never knew, having its roots not in them, but in God. In short, although not christian, it opened an intelligent world in which christian discussion could move freely, and spiritual life have recognition. Welded together with error fatal to itself, it proved an implement effective to the accomplishment of work much needed to be done in its time.

Another path out of the cold illuminism of the 18th century, as well as out of the mere subjectivism of the transcendentalists, was constituted in the writings of Jacobi, who, without constructing a system of his own, exposed with a clear and lofty criticism the errors of others, and wherein they might be amended. Frederick

Henry Jacobi (1743–1819) found the essential elements of christianity in the belief in a personal God, in moral freedom, and the eternity of human peronality. "Conceived thus in its purity, and based on the immediate witness of the personal consciousness, there is for him nothing greater than christianity." He also held that, in addition to the outer senses, whereby we know the outer world, we are possessed of an inner sense, by which we have direct knowledge of supernatural truth. The system of Spinoza he admired for its consistency, but rejected it as in "conflict with the imperative wants of the human spirit." He also opposed the pantheism of the transcendentalists, and recognized a personal God, whom we can think of, not as *I*, but as *Thou*, and to whom we can pray, as God at once above us and communicating himself to us.

But the radical revolution in German theology was the work of Schleiermacher, who although still a rationalist, advanced a principle, which undermined the omnipotence of human reason. Frederick Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher was the son of a Reformed clergyman, and born at Breslau, in 1768. His education he received in the schools of the Moravian Brethren, and afterwards pursued the theological course at Halle. From 1796 to 1802 he was preacher for the hospital in Berlin, from 1804 to 1806 prof. at Halle, and from 1809 minister of a church in Berlin, and from 1810 until his death prof. of theology in the University there. He died in 1834.

The corner stone of Schleiermacher's theological teaching was the doctrine of a religious feeling. He addressed rationalists on their own principles, and yet defended religion, as occupying a position which their weapons could not reach. They had begun to reject religion because it did not conform to the measurements of reason, he urged that such was the case because religion belonged to a power of the human mind, which their philosophy had overlooked. Although influenced by the pantheism of Spinoza, he distinguished between God and the universe, and differed from the transcendentalists in teaching that the mental act of apprehension depends upon the action of our senses, through which not merely ideas of

things, but "their being is taken up into our consciousness." The Universe is the totality of all existing things. The unity of it is Deity. It is united in all its parts by a reciprocity of influences, and accordingly every part is both active and passive. "With human activity is connected the feeling of freedom, and with passibility, that of dependence. Towards the Infinite, as the unity of the Universe, man has a feeling of absolute dependence. In this feeling religion has it root. Religious ideas and dogmas are forms of the manifestation of the religious feeling, and as such are specifically distinguished from scientific speculation, which aims to reproduce in subjective consciousness the world of objective reality." He insisted accordingly upon the supremacy of the religious feeling an all questions of Theology.

In the early part of the present century, the theologians of Germany were still divided in such a way that they might approximately be classed as rationalists, supernaturalists, and mediates. Among leaders of the first were Paulus of Heidelberg, Gesenius of Halle, Bähr of Weimar, and Bretschneider of Gotha; of the second were Reinhardt of Wittenberg, and Knapp of Halle, while De Wette of Basil might be named as representing the third. But high above all those distinctions rose the work of Schleiermacher, creating in itself an epoch in German Theology. With him coöperated Neander, prof. of Church History in Berlin, from 1812 to his death in 1850, in a more close Pietist spirit, but with a wider influence, from the vast popularity of his lectures and writings.

Schleiermacher's theology of feeling, expressed by Neander as theology of the heart, was a clear step out of the old vulgar rationalism, and into a philosophical position, different from that of the transcendentalists, and so lofty and comprehensive, that it inlisted the zealous attention of the best class of thinkers among the young, some of whom were to reach a more positive evangelical faith than their teacher.

Another important element in the church history of Germany arose in the court of Berlin. In the earlier part of his reign, Frederick III. was disposed to follow

the example of Frederic II. But the humiliation to which he was subjected in the war with Napoleon, had a benign effect upon his religious character. He came out of it with a more matured christian character. His favorite enterprises, undertaken before the war of liberation, was the establishment of a university on a greatly enlarged scale, and the union of Lutheran and Reformed churches within his dominions. The University of Berlin went into operation in 1810. To unite the two churches occasioned more controversy, and was effected only after the efforts of many years. Many theologians were exposed to it. Occasion was taken of the ter-centenary birthday of the Reformation to promote the cause of union; but a stand was also then taken by Harms, archdeacon of Kiel, in favor of close Lutheranism, in his ninety-five theses, in imitation of Luther. It was not the king's purpose to constrain either side as to doctrine or observance, but to comprehend both within one organization, as the church of Prussia, and requiring of them to worship together, and to use the same service prepared for them, in common, under the king's supervision and with his aid. At first, the service failed to give satisfaction. An improved edition was issued in 1829, which received the authority of law.

Rationalism still prevails among the educated in Germany; but evangelical doctrine has gained ground of late years. The school of thought, which commenced with Schleiermacher, has led the way into a more simple and Scriptural faith, and includes some of the greatest theologians now living, or who have recently died. Such are Tholuck of Halle, Nitzsch, Twesten and Dorner of Berlin, Lange of Bonn, Kurtz of Dorpat, Herzog of Erlangen, and Ullmann and Bähr of Carlsruhe; and the head and representative of strict orthodoxy, from 1827 until his death in 1869, professor Hengstenberg, of Berlin, the well known editor of the Evangelical Church Gazette.

The christian public of Germany, which under the conflicting speculations of their teachers, had long been indifferent to the whole subject of religion, towards the end of the first quarter of the present century, gave signs

of an internal movement of a more vital christianity. It was connected with the awakening of a real interest in the salvation of the heathen, which had gradually extended to the Lutheran church from Anglican and Moravian sources. That spirit had existed in Denmark before, but was now, for the first time, enjoyed by the Lutherans of Germany. The revival appeared at first in a very humble way, in the form of little prayer meetings, obscure and thinly attended, but conducted by men of such earnest piety as John Gosner, and the Baron Von Kottwitz, who is said to have been the principal agent in the conversion of Tholuck. Their work gradually vindicated for itself a wider field, and gave such fruits as are to be found in the foreign missions, and most striking of all, the recent inner missions now planted in several places in Germany. Meanwhile the universities of Halle, of Königsberg, of Tübingen, and others have partaken in a revival of Scriptural doctrine, and are at present distinguished by the presence of men equally eminent for learning and piety.

LATER ROMANISM.

I. The Papacy.

By the campaign of 1796, Italy fell into the hands of France. Rome was occupied by French troops, and the Papal government overthrown in 1798. Pius VI., carried captive into France, died next year. After an interval of more than six months, a successor was elected who took the name Pius VII. Napoleon, when first consul, determined to reëstablish the Catholic church, and entered into a concordat with the pope, restoring him to a limited ecclesiastical authority. He also obtained the sanction of the Pope to his assumption of imperial rank. Pius VII. was afterwards seized by French troops, and detained in custody, first in Savoy, and afterwards at Fontainebleau, with the titles of his office, but without any real jurisdiction over his estates. Upon the fall of Napoleon, in 1814, he was restored to Rome, which he entered on the 21st of March.

With that date the papacy opened a new stage of existence. All parties who had suffered from French

aggression had a common sympathy with one another, in which the pope had a large share. Upon, such a tide of sentiment Romanism rose to a position higher than it had occupied in general esteem for half a century. One of the first acts of the reëstablished pope was to take measures for the revival of the Jesuit Order, which was effected on the 7th of August next. Then followed the Inquisition, and other apparatus and adjuncts of the Papal government. Resistance was made in both Spain and Italy, but was suppressed by military force. Pius VII. proved a bitter enemy of all that was called improvement. His estates were put under the government of ecclesiastics; laymen were to be trusted as little as possible, and the greatest caution exercised in allowing any of them to have access to the Scriptures. Pius VII. died in August, 1823. Under the next pope, Leo XII., reäction proceeded with increasing zeal. And the increasing liberality of Protestants yielded privileges which had long been denied. In 1829, the Catholics of the British isles, were relieved of the last of the disabilities, which the conflicts of bygone ages had laid upon them.

In that year Leo XII. died, and his successor, Pius VIII., survived him only a few months. Gregory XVI., elected in 1830, occupied the Papal throne sixteen years. In the course of that time it was felt that the reaction had been urged beyond its natural capacity, and that the current of popular sentiment could not endure what the extreme papal party were still disposed to press. Consequently, upon the death of Gregory, the Cardinals made a concession to the more liberal spirit of the age, or rather, to the stronger party among their people, in electing one who had some reputation for sympathy with it, Cardinal John Mary Mastai Ferretti, who took the name Pius IX.

A few unimportant improvements, made in the beginning of his pontificate, gave the impression that Pius IX. was about to reform the papacy. His progress in that direction necessarily stopped short of public expectation. Rome became dissatisfied. In the war then waged between Sardinia and Austria, Rome sympathized with the former, the Pope with the latter. Insurrection

was fomented. The papal prime minister, DeRossi, was slain. And Pius IX. himself fled in disguise to Mola de Gaeta, within the protection of Naples.

Meanwhile, the French revolution of 1848 had been effected, and the Prince President, to secure catholic votes in France, sent troops to reduce the Roman Republic and restore the Pope. Pius IX. has, since that day, been kept on his throne by the help of bayonets. When those of Napoleon were withdrawn, those of Victor Emmanuel had to step in.

Under the reign of Pius IX. the principal ecclesiastical facts have been the absolute dependence of the Pope upon foreign protection against the dissatisfaction of his own subjects; the restoration of the Romish hierarchy in England, and its extension into the United States, the establishment of religious toleration in Italy, the promulgation of the dogma declaring the Virgin Mary to have been born without taint of original sin, the Vatican council, and its resolution rendering it binding upon every catholic to believe that the Pope is infallible when, in discharge of his office as Pastor and teacher of christians, he defines a doctrine regarding faith or morals to be held by the whole church. Immediately after the passing of that act of infalibility, the French invaded Prussia, the French troops had to be withdrawn from Rome, and the temporal power of the Pope fell, and the protection of his person and ecclesiastical office was assumed by the King of Italy in accordance with an overwhelming vote of the Papal subjects, (1870.)

II. Anti-Papalism.

The Infallibility dogma has given rise to a dissent in the Catholic church, which, although not of much weight in numbers, nor in ecclesiastical rank, takes its stand upon ground, which that whole communion will in course of time be constrained to take. Its own just freedom and the loyalty of its members to the civil governments under which they live, would seem now to demand that the Catholic church should abandon the papacy. That office has long ago ceased to be a benefit to the church over which it rules, and now utterly misrepresents the attitude of Catholics towards their respective countries.

A party of French Catholics, soon after the revolution of 1830, were disposed to bring about a greater conformity in their religion to the freedom of the gospel, and the spirit of the age. It was represented chiefly by the eminent ecclesiastic and author Lamenais, Count Montalembert, and the eloquent, though somewhat eccentric preacher, Lacordaire, who established a journal called L'avenir, devoted to the interest of Catholicism and freedom. They advocated separation of church and state, each to be independent of the other; and that the church should be poor, and receive neither support nor control from the civil government. An encyclical letter of Gregory XVI. arrested their discussions and brought L'avenir to a premature end. But opinions equally unpalatable to Rome have been not only agitated, but acted on within the catholic communion, of later date.

Large numbers on the continent of Europe have recently abandoned Roman Catholicism, and if they have not joined some Protestant church, remain in a state of skepticism or of unbelief. In 1848 freedom of religion began to be adopted in the kingdom of Sardinia, a freedom which has sustained itself by evincing its benefits. It is now extended to all Italy and Sicily, and has entered even the walls of Rome. A similar progress has been vindicated in Southwestern Germany and Austria; but has encountered a check in both France and Spain. The apparent growth of Papalism in England and the United States is delusive. Those who put confidence in its present appearances will, in case of any practical test occurring, find themselves deceived.

In opposition to the extreme papalism of the Vatican council, a party under the leadership of Prof. Döllinger of Munich, and calling themselves "Old Catholics," has been organized on the ground of rejecting the infallibility of the pope.

III. The Papal Government.

1. The present Pope, Pius IX.

2. The college of Cardinals, when full, consists of six cardinal Bishops, fifty cardinal priests and fourteen Cardinal deacons.

3. Next to the college of Cardinals stand the *congregationes*, or committees of different departments of government: as that of the Inquisition and that of the Propaganda.

4. subordinate to the government at Rome are the metropolitans, or archbishops, presiding over provinces of the ecclesiastical empire, and

5. under them, the bishops of dioceses, who in turn rule over all the priests and inferior secular clergy of their respective districts.

6. Another ramification of ecclesiasticism from Rome is that of the monastic system, the so-called regular clergy, in their various orders, and under their respective generals, and other officers. A great branch of the monastic system is constituted of such establishments for women, each nunnery being governed by its abbess, or superior, subject to the general government.

BRITISH CHURCHES SINCE 1688.

1. Church of England.

At the revolution in 1688, eight English bishops, with Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury at their head, and about four hundred other clergy, who held to the divine right of Kings, although some of them had censured the despotism of King James, still believed that they ought to submit, and could not allow that the nation had any right to transfer the crown to another. They refused the oath of allegiance to the new king. Although they could not remain in the establishment, on that condition, they were tolerated in the exercise of their clerical functions, as dissenters, among those who agreed with them in opinion, or preferred their ministrations. The small body which in Scotland adhered to Episcopacy took the same political ground. Under the name of Non-jurers, the sect continued to exist until after the hopeless defeat of the Jacobites, about the middle of the 18th century. The death of Charles Edward, in 1788, removed the last foot of ground on which the faction stood.

Fruits of the Restoration remained in the church at the Revolution in a parochial clergy ill educated, worldlyminded, and intolerant, who opposed every step of im-

provement. With numerous exceptions, the higher clergy were commendably disposed to reform abuses, and to bring, if possible, the national establishment into harmony with the universal Protestant convictions of England. With that view a royal commission revised the Liturgy. But their labor was rendered fruitless by opposition of the lower house of convocation.

At that date, and for more than a generation later, piety was at a very low ebb in the national church, which was largely actuated by political partyism. Those who defended the utmost claims of the Prelacy, and confined all religion to the channel of prescribed routine, were called the High Church party, and sympathized, in the main, with the Tory party in the state. Those who attached greater weight to personal piety, and less to ordinances and prelatical authority went under the name of Low Church; and corresponded to the Whig party in politics. Later in the century those names contracted a more purely religious meaning from their relations to the great revival.

Such a state of the ministry was the proper soil for skepticism to grow in. And the particular form which it assumed in England at that time was deism, which had sprung up as a style of religious thought in the foregoing century. Its progress, checked by the christian zeal of the Commonwealth, and the utter profligacy of the Restoration, quickened into a new activity, under the decent but hollow profession which followed the Revolution. The early part and middle of the 18th century constituted, in England, its flourishing period. Its history consists of successive stages of controversy.

1. First it appeared, in the hands of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, as a heresy growing out of the Biblical discussions of the first quarter of the 17th century, and in a reverential spirit.

2. The reverential spirit disappeared in Hobbes, and his successors. The earliest deists made their attack upon the substance of Scripture. And their opponents, Baxter, Locke, Whitby, Halyburton, and others, labored to show the reasonableness of the christian religion, and that it is necessary to man's happiness. They were also

led to define the principles of natural religion, to which Bishop Cumberland's treatise "*De Legibus Naturae*" was addressed.

3. As the controversy advanced, it turned into discussion of the canon, and historical truth of certain passages of Scripture history.

4. After the first quarter of the 18th century, the main stream of controversy followed the channel of testimony, and expended itself in criticism of the witnesses to the facts of Scripture separately.

5. No longer content with replying to attack, the christian apologists, towards the middle of that century, began to construct works of permanent and and independent value. Butler's Analogy of Natural and Revealed Religion appeared in 1736. Further on, began to appear such works of independent criticism as West's treatise on the Resurrection of Christ (1747), Littleton's Conversion and Apostleship of Paul, and Newton on Prophecy. Towards the close of the century, Paley published his view of the whole subject of the christian evidences, and a few years later, his treatise on Natural Theology.

The controversy resulted in the production of works on the necessity of revelation to the spiritual well being of man:

2. Second, of scattered defences of the external evidences, at particular points of attack:

3. Third, independent treatment of single events in Scripture history, gradually, as the series advanced, taking in a wider range, and ultimately rising to the height and breadth of the whole field of the external evidences of Christianity:

4. Fourth, treatises on the internal evidences—first, internal as respects Scripture: and second, internal as respects the Christian's experience, and character: and

5. Fifth, the radical starting points of a new and better philosophy, or style of thinking, among christians, which recognized the separate existence of an inner experience of Spiritual life.

6. Sixth, as the Deists made their attack from the side of Natural Theology, so Christian apologists were

led to define the field and doctrines of Natural Theology, and trace the analogy between it and the Revealed. And the end was

7. Seventh, the four-fold result of a complete system of Christian Evidences; a complete treatment of Natural Theology, a masterly summing up of the great points of their Analogy, and an introduction to the defence of Chirstianity on its inner merits.

The Great Revival.

A general reform of morals commenced in the early years of the 18th century. It appeared first in the serial essays published by Sir. Richard Steele, Addison and others in the Tatler (1709–10) Spectator, (1710–13) Guardian, (1713) and their successors. For exposure of social follies, and the example of a popular literature free from all stain of moral impurity, the England of that day owed those writers an inestimable debt. The Society for promoting Christian Knowledge was instituted in 1698; and that for propagating the gospel in foreign parts in 1701.

But the most powerful effect in reviving an interest in religion proceeded from a little society of students in the University of Oxford, of which John and Charles Wesley were the principal movers. It was formed about 1729 and continued to be merely a college society for six or seven years. In 1735 it was joined by George Whitefield. Much benefit was received from connection with the Moravian Societies in London and elsewhere. In 1735 the Wesleys visited America; but not until 1738, did the society disperse over the British Isles and to America preaching the gospel. In that year Whitefield made his first visit to America. In his work as an evangelist he traveled over the British Isles, awakening every where an intense interest in religion. He visited America seven times, giving his aid to the revival then going forward in the colonies: and died at Newburyport, Sept. 30, 1770. John Wesley, although an evangelist also, marked his career especially by organizing societies for religious improvement; but retaining them all in connection with the established church of England. Before his death in 1791, societies were formed in most

places of importance in England, and some in Ireland and the United States. Four years later they adopted measures constituting themselves a separate church, and severed their connection with the establishment. Their brethren in America had assumed that attitude in 1784. The latter formed the Methodist Episcopal Church; the former, the Wesleyan Methodist. Both were characterized by an Arminian Theology. The Calvinistic Methodists failed to organize a complete association of their congregations. Most nearly approaching to it was that formed by the zeal and eminent ability of Lady Huntington, and that which still maintains itself as that of the Welsh Calvinistic Methodists. Lady Huntington's connection proved of most benefit as promoting evangelical religion among the clergy and members of the Established church. Within more recent time the Great Methodist bodies have been broken by various divisions.

Although rejected by the Anglican church, the Methodist revival was not without an extensive collateral influence upon many of both its clergy and membership. Such persons were classed with the low Church; but in course of time it was found necessary to distinguish them further by another name, as Evangelical.

About the same time with the rise of Methodism, another divergence from the English Church took place in another direction. Socinians were few in England in the early part of the 18th century. But from the middle to the end of it their numbers encreased, and their doctrines were advocated by writers of considerable ability; and before the century closed Socinian places of worship were opened, and a sect formed under the title of Unitarian. Their principal advocate was Dr. Priestly, who in 1794 removed to the United States, and took up his residence at Northumberland in Pennsylvania, where he died in 1804.

Since the opening of the present century, the English Church, notwithstanding her internal dissentions, has greatly extended her evangelical enterprise both at home and in missions among the colonies; and various societies have been organized both by her members, and in coöperation with dissenters for the wider publication of Scriptural knowledge.

In the progress of liberal opinions about 1832 and 1833, many churchmen became alarmed for the safety of the establishment. A few members of the University of Oxford, with a view to counteract the existing tendency of the public mind, undertook a series of publications called "Tracts for the times," which continued to appear from 1833, until 1841, to the number of Ninety. Deep division of opinion was created by them, especially by the Romish tendency evinced in some of them. In the large No. 90 so strongly was that apparent that the further publication of the series was stopped. Mr. Newman, the author of that tract, afterwards, with one or two others associated with him in the enterprize, went over to Romanism. Dr. Pusey was silenced, but at the end of two years, restored to his place in the English church.

In the same general direction, another party has arisen more recently, whose peculiarity it is to engraft upon the liturgy of their church many of the rites and ceremonies of the Roman Catholic.

Since the death of Dr. Arnold of Rugby, to whom they look with special reverence, another section has grown up distingnished as the "Broad Church." Their aim is to occupy a liberal attitude within the establishment, with a kindly spirit towards christians of other denominations.

Presbyterian Church in Scotland since the Revolution of 1688.

The General Assembly of the Established Church of Scotland, as constituted at the Revolution, consisted of three elements; first, the old ministers who had been ejected by the intrusion of Prelacy, now numbering only sixty; second, the ministers of the Cameronian party, only three in number; and third, those who had submitted to Prelacy, more numerous than the other two. The Acts of Parliament under which they reconstituted were those of the year 1592. The Covenant of 1638 was not renewed. Offense was thereby given to some of the Cameronians, who refused to go into the establishment on that condition. They subsequently obtained a min-

ister, a Mr. M'Millan, and took the denomination of Reformed Presbyterians.

For the first twenty-five years, or thereby, from the Revolution, the Church of Scotland, notwithstanding some incongruous elements, presented a noble example of zeal and consistent effort in her spiritual work. But in course of time rationalism, active elsewhere in that century, invaded her bounds, and led to division and secession.

In 1707 the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united: and as preliminary thereto an act of Parliament had been passed, called the "Security Act," guarding against any infringement of the rights of the Church of Scotland by that political change.

In 1712, an act of Parliament granted legal toleration, to Episcopal dissenters in Scotland, who wished to use the English liturgy, and released them from the jurisdiction of the church of Scotland.

In the same parliament an act was passed restoring patronage in Scottish parishes, a false step which subsequently led to many troubles.

The first secession arose out of the defence of orthodoxy, against the increasing rationalism of the General Assembly. In 1732 Ebenezer Erskine, was censured for preaching against certain prevailing errors. Against that act he protested, and was joined by three other ministers. They were all deposed, and threw themselves upon the support of those who agreed with them in their congregations: and thereby created the first Associate Presbytery.

The second secession, in 1761, grew out of difficulties connected with patronage. Leaving the establishment to be relieved of the burden of patronage, the seceders took the name of the "Relief Presbytery."

These secessions were not heresies; but made in defence of sound orthodoxy and relief from secular interference: and proved of great benefit to the Presbyterian cause, resisting consistently all approaches of rationalism, which in the latter part of the 18th century deeply corrupted the established church.

Scotland was divided civilly as well as ecclesiastically into 919 parishes, each one of which, under the civil

government furnishes a church and a stated salary for a minister. In the first book of discipline it was declared that it appertained to the people, and "to every several congregation" to elect their ministers. And that principle, although long and often defeated, was still maintained as a constitutional right, and recognized in the Revolution. But patronage restored by act of the United Parliament in 1712, was later in the century defended by the General Assembly.

In its lowest period of rationalism, the Church of Scotland was never without some evangelical laborers. Dr. Thomas Hardy and Dr. John Erskine in the latter part of the 18th century struggled against much opposition; but made the beginning of what afterwards became a blessed revival of religion among the ministers. It appeared first in an attempt to interest the General Assembly in sending the Gospel to the heathen, unsuccessful, but awakening inquiry and discussion. The small evangelical party increased in number. Towards the close of the French war, it received valuable accessions in Dr. Andrew Thomson, who began his career of eminent usefulness at Edinburgh in 1810; in the publications of Dr. M'Crie, which began with his Life of Knox in 1811; and the removal of Thomas Chalmers from a little country charge to the city of Glasgow in 1815, to whom should be added Andrew Symington as preacher and professor of Theology in the Reformed Presbyterian Church at Paisley. The various agencies of pastoral duty as well as of preaching, and of home and foreign missions were quickened to more active life. Eight years later the same zeal in christian work was carried to the University of St. Andrews by the election of Dr. Chalmers to the professorship of philosophy.

In 1824 Dr. Inglis, leader of the Moderate party, brought the subject of foreign missions before the Assembly. A committee was appointed (1825) to consider the matter. A favorable report was accepted, and measures taken accordingly: and in 1829, Alexander Duff, first missionary of the Established church of Scotland, went out to India.

As the revival progressed among the ministers and congregations, the burden and obstructions of patronage were felt to be oppressive and in many cases to spiritual detriment. Its abuses in some quarters were complained of before the Assembly, which took steps to protect the people against the process of imposing ministers upon them by force. But thereby a conflict was incurred with the civil courts, which sustained the patrons. The matter was carried to Parliament. But nothing was done for relief of the difficulty. In this conflict of authorities, the civil power very easily remained the victor. As long as the church received her pay through the hands of the state, it was resolved that she should submit to the conditions imposed by the state.

After an earnest and patient struggle of about ten years, a large number of the ministers agreed to submit. Others, and those the furthest advanced in the revival movement, felt that such a submission would put them in worse condition than before, and preferred the alternative of surrendering the emoluments of the establishment. They accordingly, in 1843, left it, to the number of 474 ministers, and a corresponding number of parishoners. By the previous efforts and large organizing power of Chalmers and others, the ground had been well prepared for them, their government and maintenance provided for, and they forthwith took their position as the Free Church of Scotland. It has proved an active evangelical church, almost rivaling the establishment in numbers, while the establishment has subsequently greatly increased in the power of an evangelical spirit. And that freedom from patronage, which could not be obtained thirty years ago, has been recently granted by act of Parliament. (1874.)

There are now four Presbyterian Churches in Scotland, namely, The Established Church, the Free Church, the United Presbyterian Church, consisting of the United Associated and Relief Churches, and the Reformed Presbyterian Church. All four have their branches in the colonies and in the United States, and their missions among the heathen.

Presbyterian Church in Ireland after the Revolution.

King William landed at Carrickfergus on the 14th of June, and the battle of the Boyne was fought on the first of July 1690. James, hopelessly defeated, hurried from the country never to return. The loyalty of Presbyterians William recognized by issuing an order to the collector of customs at Belfast for the regular payment of twelve hundred pounds annually to the Presbyterian ministers of Ulster; the beginning of the *Regium Donum*, or Royal Bounty, which enlarged from time to time, was continued until 1870.

The succeeding history, from the first meeting of Synod after the Revolution 1690 consists of three sections, the first extending to 1719, the first appearance of Rationalism, under sanction of the Belfast society; the Second, from 1719 until about 1808 was the period of conflict with that internal foe, and the third is that of the revived predominance of orthodoxy.

By the new oath of allegiance Presbyterians were put under no civil disabilities; but the attempt to obtain from the Irish Parliament toleration for their religion failed. In 1704 a civil disability was gratuitously created by the established church party, in the sacramental test, whereby "all persons holding any office, civil or military, or receiving any pay or salary from the crown," were to take the sacrament in the established Church, within three months after any such appointment; an offence which was not repealed until after the end of seventy-five years. But though encountering many obstacles the Presbyterian Church in Ulster continued to increase in numbers and to contend against the error making progress within itself. In 1742 a congregation connected with the Associate Synod of Scotland was planted in Ireland; and a few years later, one of Reformed Presbyterians, both of whom sustained the cause of Orthodoxy, when it was declining in the synod of Ulster.

From 1770 the supporters of the Westminister Confession were the minority in the synod, and the years intervening until 1793 showed a great increase of error, among the ministers, while the teaching of the Shorter

Catechism was never abandoned by the Presbyterian families.

Within the last decade of the 18th century the new spirit of missions began to awaken interest, and in 1798 an evangelical association was formed in Ulster for home mission enterprise, and consisted of members from the Associate church, the Synod of Ulster and from the Establishment. Kindred efforts succeeded, improvement of ministerial education, common education, supplying Bibles on easy terms to the poor, which led to the formation of a branch Bible Society, and by the year 1808 the change amounted to a real ministerial revival of sound doctrine. The corresponding movement in Scotland also made itself felt in Ulster, and vacant congregations began to be supplied by young evangelical ministers, where unitarians had preceded. One of those young men, Henry Cook, became a most active and efficient leader in the revival. At the Synod of 1828, a vote on all the points of the unitarian controversy gave a large majority for the Orthodox. Next year the Unitarians withdrew, and formed what is called the Remonstrant Synod of Ulster. This step prepared the way for union of the Ulster and Associate Synods, which was effected on the tenth of July 1840, constituting thereby the "General Assembly of the Presbyterian church in Ireland." At the same time missionaries were set apart for India. In the disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, the sympathies of the Irish Presbyterians went with the Free Church.

The disestablishment of the Episcopal Church in Ireland "necessarily led to the abolition of state grants to any religious body." Accordingly since that date the *Regium Donum* has been withheld. All denominations in Ireland are now on the same civil footing.

Revival among the Reformed Churches on the Continent of Europe.

After the close of the wars of Napoleon, and when the more serious impediments to travel were removed an English mechanic, Richard Wilcox, visited Geneva. He was a pious Calvinistic Methodist, and residing for a

few months in that city, by his conversation he kindled up in the minds of several persons earnest inquiry after a truer christian life. The Consistory determined to extinguish it, by constraining into banishment those by whom it was entertained. Wilcox left the place in January 1817. But another, and more powerful laborer arrived almost at the same time.

Robert Haldane had left Scotland on a tour of religious instruction. After visiting Paris and Montauban, he arrived at Geneva in the beginning of 1817. His sole object being to promote the study of Scripture truth, he began by conversing with any whom he found disposed to consider the subject. At first discouraged in the ministers whom he encountered, he after a short time became acquainted with one of the theological students, who took an interest in his conversation. The young man called upon him at his lodgings, bringing another student. They repeated their visit, and others came with them. As his visitors encreased, Mr. Haldane appointed certain hours in the week for them to come to his room, when he gave regular lectures on the Epistle to the Romans, expounding to them its doctrine of salvation through faith in a Redeemer. Twenty-five attended. Most of them became in a few years the instruments of God in an earnest revival of religion in the church of Geneva which extended itself to the Reformed churches far abroad. Among them were Frederick Monod, Merle d'Aubigné, and S. L. Gaussen; and Mr. Malan who, already a pastor, attended Mr. Haldane privately.

After Mr. Haldane left Geneva, the work was continued by those whom he had instructed, with some assistance from abroad. Constrained to leave the established church, they with the church members who joined them, formed a new church organization, as the Evangelical Society of Geneva, with their own School and Theological Seminary. In the latter the first professors were Gaussen, Galland and Merle d'Aubigné. Since that revival Geneva has once more become a centre of evangelical influences to the continent of Europe. Still, rationalism retains its hold upon the established church and its theological School.

A similar evangelical influence is operating in the other protestant cantons of Switzerland. It is conducted by the coöperation of ministers and laymen in an organization called the Evangelical Union. Yet there is also there a rationalist party, which presents itself as an opposition. Of the twenty-two Cantons, twelve are protestant, ten being catholic, or chiefly catholic. In the Protestant cantons the established church is the Reformed.

In the French Revolution, Protestantism, like Catholicism, was equally free and despised by those at the head of the government. Protestants were liberated from oppression but enjoyed no recognition. In 1802 Napoleon, then first consul, granted them lawful toleration, and a code of discipline founded on their own acts of synod; but with the condition that he should have jurisdiction over them in all things. He also, in 1810, reopened their college at Montauban which had been suppressed in 1629.

The Restoration, in 1814, guaranteed to Catholicism the authority of the established religion, and to the other confessions protection and toleration. After leaving Geneva, Mr. Haldane resided some time at Montauban, and labored not without effect for the revival of orthodox doctrine. But no sooner was the Bourbon dynasty fully re-established, than persecution of Protestants was renewed in the South of France (1815–16.) At the remonstrance of England, Prussia and Russia, it was stopped, but the perpetrators went unpunished. Since then the Protestants of France have suffered many restrictions, but upon the whole, have enjoyed the ordinary privileges of French subjects.

After the Revolution of 1848, the Reformed Church, in a council held at Paris, divided on the question of disregarding creeds in the matter of their organization. Frederick Monod and count Gasparin, in defence of their doctrinal standards, protested against the laxity of the majority, and withdrew. Thirty congregations went with them, and formed (1849) a new organization, known as the Union of Evangelical churches of France.

In the course of so long a period of persecution and merciless oppression the Reformed Church of France

was greatly reduced in number. But since her recognition by Napoleon I. she has continued steadily to make progress by the addition of new congregations, and her evangelical societies labor, as far as permitted, to diffuse scriptural information throughout the land.

Similar has been the state of the Reformed Church in Belgium, since the revolution whereby a protestant king was set on the throne of that country.

With the fall of the Republic of the United Netherlands, before the advance of French arms, also fell the constitution of the church. In 1806 a Kingdom of Holland was formed with Louis Bonaparte as King. It did not last long; and, four years later, was incorporated with the French empire. When, in 1814, the Netherlands were liberated from that yoke, it was found that everything of church organization had perished except the classes. The state assumed the regulation of the church. In 1816, a general government of the Reformed Church was established, in which the congregations, classes, and provincial synods regained a large part of their former rights, and a national synod was constituted the head of the whole.

So deeply had rationalism entered into the teaching of the church that when the attempt was made to return to the standards of Orthodoxy, it met with great, and in some respects, invincible opposition. The spirit of revival however made progress, and though it failed to carry a majority in the church, by the year 1832 it became strong enough to constitute an important evangelical power. Among the leaders in it stood the poet Bilderdijk and his pupils DaCosta, and Capadose, with the statesman VanPrinsterer. In 1839 a portion of that party obtained the royal permission to form separate congregations. This dissenting church of the Netherlands stands on the foundation of the theology of Dort, and seeks after an earnest practical religion.

The government of the established Dutch Church is the most complete, and perhaps complex, of the Reformed connection. The universities are divided in their theological views. Utrecht is credited with conservatism of the old standards; Grœningen is held to be the head-

quarters of unitarianism ; while Leyden seeks to combine Reformed Orthodoxy with the freedom of science. Among the people of Holland much zeal and enterprise is evinced in carrying forward the evangelical work of the church.

Under the Austrian rule, the reforms of Joseph II. and Lepold II. failed of effecting all that was intended in them. Francis I. who succeeded, indulged catholics in their aggressions upon Protestant rights, and involved in wars with France, could give little attention to the grievances of his subjects. After those wars had closed, in 1817, a deputation from both Lutheran and Reformed churches of Hungary waited upon him. They received fair promises, but little was done. Again they applied in 1822; and again were put off with promises, Francis died, in 1835, without having fulfilled them. Prince Metternich still continued at the head of authority. A royal resolution appeared in 1843 declaring that all the different confessions should have equal rights and privileges. And yet the Hungarian insurrection, which took place soon afterwards, was provoked by an edict of Gen. Haynau threatening the extinction of the Protestant churches of Hungary. The insurrection became a war which issued in the defeat of the Hungarians, and expatriation of their leaders, at the head of whom was Louis Kossuth.

More recently, the increased strength of the Protestant churches of Hungary has enabled them to take a more independent and energetic stand, whereby the Austrian government has been constrained to pay more respect to their wishes. To the same effect was the Prussian war of 1866, whereby Austria was expelled from western Germany, and it became exceedingly expedient for her to propitiate all classes of her eastern subjects. The loss also of all the Italian states now confines the Austrian empire to the north of the Alps, and the lands of the Hungarian crown constitute too large a proportion of the whole to be risked for the interest of an ecclesiastical chief in a foreign land, who has lost all power to enforce his authority in temporal things.

Surrounded by Roman Catholics, by Greek Catholics, by Jews and Turks, the Reformed and Lutheran churches

in Hungary have felt the expediency of mutual support and coöperation. In number, the Reformed are still the greatest, amounting in Hungary and the lands of the Hungarian crown to 2,031,000, the Lutherans to 1,113,000. As their symbolical books, the Reformed retain the second Helvetic confession and the Heidelberg Catechism; while the Lutherans adhere to the Augsburg Confession. But in their constitution and administration they agree. Each is composed of four superintendencies, or Synodical authorities; and each superintendency contains several seniorates, or presbyteries; each seniorate, a number of congregations, and each congregation is governed by its own pastor and presidents.

PLANTING OF THE AMERICAN CHURCHES.

The peace of Westphalia asserted religious freedom for nations, but did not venture to liberate the individual conscience. Notwithstanding the efforts of many good and great men among them, it was difficult for nations having their home by the Mediterranean sea to emancipate themselves from opinions and authorities incorporated with their history, and enforced, if not to a great degree created by their geograpical relations. The limits of thought were greatly extended when commerce betook herself to the paths of the ocean. Upon the new continent of North America, for the first time, was Protestant principle consistently carried into practice. The southern continent, Central America, Mexico and most of the West India islands, were claimed by Spain and Portugal, as the gift of the pope; and on all those coasts the faith of Rome was planted, and enforced with its utmost severity. On the eastern side of North America, as far as now held by the United States, that system was never established. Discovered by protestant mariners, that tract of country was, from the first, set apart for the abode of religious freedom. It was during the oppressive reign of the Stuart dynasty in England, and, as respects the continent of Europe, from the formation of the two antagonist leagues which led to the Thirty years war, until the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, that the

earliest and most important settlements on that coast were made.

Though numerous and somewhat heterogeneous in character, a certain spontaneous order operated in them which presents the basis of a classification. The history is that of five different groups of colonies. Virginia, New York, and Massachusetts were the earliest, planted in 1607, 1613 and 1620 respectively. The first by Episcopalians, the second by Dutch Reformed and the third by Congregationalists.

Soon afterwards, the country north of Virginia was settled by the Catholic colony of Baltimore, under the Protestant limitations of the English government.

The lands lying between the Hudson and the head of the Chesapeake bay, first occupied by Dutch, Danes and Swedes, were, together with the Dutch colonies on the Hudson, conquered by the English, whereby all the three original settlements were united in one belt of territory.

A fourth group had its beginning at Port Royal in South Carolina, in 1670, from which proceeded the founders of Charleston in 1680, and subsequently of other places in the south. In religion, these colonists were mingled Presbyterians and Episcopalians.

The fifth group was that of the Quaker settlements in Pennsylvania and adjoining parts of New Jersey, constituted by William Penn in 1682.

France had taken possession of the coast further north, and there introduced the missionaries of her established faith.

Accordingly, as respects religion, the catholics had appropriated all the explored parts of America, north, south and middle, except the line of coast settlements now specified. In these the type of doctrine which prevailed was that of the Reformed Church. Lutherans were very few. In 1662 Episcopacy was established in Virginia, and in 1703 extended over the Carolinas. It was also established in New York; while Congregationalism was established by the colonists in New England, and the Society of Friends maintained freedom of religion within their own bounds.

Presbyterianism came into this country by various ways, but chiefly by two, as connected with the Congregational settlements, and by emigration from Scotland and Ireland. They were strengthened by Dutch settlers and Huguenot refugees. Without support of government, and in some instances in face of its opposition, the Presbyterian churches, from the latter years of the 17th century, quietly but rapidly increased in number, especially in the middle states, with a tendency to centralize on the Delaware towards Philadelphia. Its first Presbytery was organized in that city as early as 1706.

The great revival which spread over the country about the middle of last century brought together, and fused into one the scattered evangelical elements. Its greatest effects were manifested in the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. The Presbyterian church, which had previously been feeble and scattered, emerging from chaos and oppression, beheld itself, in the result of the revival, a numerous and fully organized brotherhood, with its own colleges for the education of ministers, and general intellectual culture.

The same revival introduced two other actors. The Moravians appeared as Missionaries, and only planted stations and schools, with a missionary object in view. A few Methodists of the Wesleyan connection came to America between 1760 and 1770. Their first conference met in Philadelphia in 1773. In the effects of the Revolutionary war, they felt the necessity of an ecclesiastical position by themselves; and obtained from John Wesley two ministers, with authority as superintendents, to set in order the government of their churches. These superintendents they accepted as bishops, and organized themselves as a Methodist Episcopal church.

Baptists came to this country first among the Puritans of New England. Expelled from Massachusetts, they formed, on their own principles, the province of Rhode Island. Subsequent immigration enlarged their numbers, and new societies were planted in various parts of the country. In colonial times they were comparatively few. But a great increase took place in their numbers from about the beginning of the present century.

National independence opened the way to entire religious freedom. In a short time government support and restrictions alike were withdrawn, and all denominations put upon an equal footing before the law.

Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States.

Anglican Episcopacy although established in New York, Virginia and the Carolinas, before the Revolution, was sustained only as a missionary branch of the church in England. During the Revolutionary war many of its ministers returned to the mother country, and the support of the Propagation society was withdrawn. At the close of the war, in 1784, Dr. Seabury, from Connecticut, went over to England to obtain Episcopal ordination. It could not be granted then; but he obtained it from the Episcopal church in Scotland. Subsequently the obstacle on the side of English bishops was removed, and in 1787 three bishops were ordained for America, by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Dr. Provost was made bishop for New York, Dr. White for Pennsylvania, and Dr. Griffith for Virginia. Since that date the Episcopal Church in the United States has been organically separate from that of England. It is possessed also of some features proper to itself, and has consistently adopted a separate name, as the Protestant Episcopal Church. It recognizes the three ranks of the ministry, bishop, presbyter and deacon, but rejects the higher prelacy, and its highest authority is a synod, admitting of a lay representation. The doctrines professed are identical with those of the Church of England and the liturgy differs only in as far as the outward relations of the church are different.

The Congregational Churches.

It was in New England that congregationalism first assumed its own proper form. The pilgrims who arrived from Holland, from the instructions of John Robinson, landed at Plymouth in Massachusetts. Although soon joined by others directly from England, the councils of Mr. Robinson prevailed in the new settlement. And now free to worship God according to their understand-

ing of his holy Word, the colonists proceeded to study their Bibles on the subject, and came with great unanimity to the adoption of that ecclesiastical polity which has been distinctively named congregationalism.

It recognizes the Scriptures as alone containing the religion of protestants, and no other ecclesiastical authority but that of a congregation with its elders and deacons; which accepts directly from the Lord all the powers belonging to a church of Christ. No other church officers are admitted than elders and deacons, and they are elected by the congregation over which they minister. At the same time, a common fellowship of elders, or ministers, is observed among those who hold to the same system of doctrine, in consistency with which the pastors of certain districts form themselves into associations, or consociations, for mutual advice and aid in their work. The advice of the association is generally respected; but is of no governmental authority. Consociation is a somewhat closer bond.

The history of the congregational churches may be comprehended under five heads.

1. From the landing of the Pilgrims 1620 to the meeting of the Cambridge synod in 1648, at which the Westminster Confession and Catechisms were accepted. Within that interval they constituted the substantial elements of their church order, and founded Harvard College (1638).

2. From 1648 to 1708, the formation of the Saybrook platform, on the principle of consociation, within which time, namely in 1701, the Saybrook College, afterwards Yale College, was founded.

3. From 1708 to the first appearance of Unitarianism in 1756, within which period appeared the great revival under the preaching of Edwards, Whitefield and others.

4. From 1756 to 1805 was an interval of great theological conflict, between evangelism on the one side, and rationalism on the other, until the election of a unitarian to the chair of Theology in Harvard College.

5. From 1805 to the present time, including the maturity of New England rationalism, and the persevering resistance on the part of the orthodox. Unitarianism

found its principal supporters in and about Boston, and determined the religious character of Harvard college. Another divergence from orthodoxy, but in the direction of Semipelagianism, arose in New Haven about 1828, which influenced the religious views of Yale College, and prevailed to some extent among the Presbyterian churches of the north.

The Orthodox congregational churches far outnumber the Unitarian, and have, of late years, evinced more vitality, more religious enterprise, and more zeal for the proper objects of religion.

Presbyterian Church in the United States.

The history of the Presbyterian Church in America consists of four distinctly marked periods, as that of settlement, until the formation of the first American Presbytery in 1705 or 6; second, that which intervened until the first General Assembly in 1789, third, that of the united Church under the Gen. Assembly, until the division in 1838, and fourth, that of the divided church, from 1838 to the re-union in 1870.

During the first of those periods, separate congregations were formed at distant places along the Atlantic coast, from South Carolina to New England, some coming in with the Congregationalists, and some directly from Presbyterian churches in Europe. The Dutch upon the Hudson and Delaware would have been a more important element in Presbyterian history but for the Dutch language, which disconnected those who spoke it from the people rapidly becoming masters of the country.

The Puritan immigrations into New England contained a Presbyterian element, which in the movements from New England southward gradually took its own proper form of government. Such were the first English speaking Presbyterian churches in Long Island, and East Jersey.

Progress of Presbyterianism from the south was greatly sustained by arrival of successive colonies from Scotland and the north of Ireland, landing in Virginia and Maryland. As victims of oppression in their own countries they came without any connection with the

churches at home. Entirely free to form their own church order, they followed the model of that which they had left, without being under any allegiance to it, or in any way fettered by it. Most active in the work of organizing the churches was Francis Makemie of Maryland, who arrived from Ireland in 1682. Next to him was Jedediah Andrews from Boston, minister of the first Presbyterian church in Philadelphia, which was organized about 1698.

The Dutch retained their ecclesiastical connection with Holland, and the Presbyterians of South Carolina with Scotland.

It was in Philadelphia, and in Mr. Andrews' church that the first American Presbytery met, in the year 1705 or 1706. Most of the ministers who constituted it were from Scotland, but some also from New England and the north of Ireland. Thenceforward the increase of congregations was more rapid: and ten years later, 1716, it was found expedient to d vide the presbytery into three, annex a fourth, and constitute a Synod. In about twelve years from that date the synod almost doubled its numbers. In New York and East Jersey a large proportion of the church came out of New England. Elsewhere in New Jeresy, from the settlement in Monmouth and in all places further south, the additions to Presbyterian churches were chiefly by emigration from Scotland and Ireland.

Both classes of churches held to the same standards of doctrine. And in 1729, by act of Synod, the Westminster Confession was formally adopted, and its acceptance made obligatory upon all candidates for admission to the Presbyteries.

On the subject of education for the ministry a controversy arose, in which one side argued the necessity of a thorough mental culture, and the other side, the greater importance of spiritual preparation by religious experience. At the head of the former stood Robert Cross of Jamaica, Long Island. William Tennant by the practical enterprise of his Log college sustained the latter, and sent out from his classes its ablest defenders. Then came the great revival, giving additional strength to the same

side, which was chiefly sustained by the Presbytery of New Brunswick, and commonly called the New Side. Between these two parties rose a third, or mediating party, in which Dickinson of Elizabeth, Pemberton of New York, and Burr of Newark were the leading men. In the year 1741 the New Side separated from the synod, and were followed in 1745 by the mediate party.

The party of the Old Side in 1744, established an academy at Newark in Delaware, and another in Philadelphia. On the other hand, after the death of William Tennant and the close of the Log college, in 1746, the New Side, or more especially, the mediating party procured from the Provincial government a charter for a regular and better furnished college, to be planted within their own bounds. The new institution was put under the presidential care of Mr. Dickinson at Elizabeth. A new charter was obtained in 1748, when after Mr. Dickinson's death, it was removed to Newark, and put in charge of the Rev. Aaron Burr. In 1757 it was removed to Princeton, where a large and substantial building had been put up for the accommodation of the teachers and students.

In 1758 the two branches of the Presbyterian church, after seventeen years alienation, succeeded in effecting a cordial and complete reünion.

The Revolutionary war interfered with the operations of the churches; and the college at Princeton was for a time suspended. Prosperity returned with the return of peace. In three years after the close of the war, the increase of the Presbyterian church led to the adoption of measures for a redistribution of the presbyteries into different synods, with a General Assembly. The plan was satisfactorily carried into effect in 1788, and the first General Assembly met next year. The succeeding fifty years was a period of active prosperity and expansion.

Towards the end of that time, a plan of union between Presbyterians and Congregationalists in the western settlements, which had been in operation since 1801, began to create dissention, chiefly from the popularity, in those settlement, of certain doctrines from Connecti-

cut. By the General Assembly of 1837 an act was passed exscinding all presbyteries composed of presbyterians and congregationalists. With that act a large number were dissatisfied, and came to the Assembly of 1838, prepared for division, which was carried through, and the church rent into two sections. That which sympathized with the exscinded presbyteries was called New School, and the other Old School. Litigation decided the inheritance of property in favor of the latter. Both sections continued their evangelical activity, and increase in number.

As the causes, out of which that division grew, gradually diminished in importance, and the feelings, attendant upon it, passed away, men on both sides began to perceive that the differences between them were no longer such as to justify continued division After careful preliminary consultations, conducted with caution and regularity, but with readiness, on the 10th of November, 1869, the two assemblies of the Old and New Schools met at Pittsburgh, and succeeded in effecting an entire and harmonious reünion of the churches represented by them. Those of the southern states, for causes of their own, preferred to stand apart, and retain their separate organization.

There are other Presbyterian churches in the United States which trace their descent to Scotland, Ireland, Holland, Germany and France. An Associate church was planted in Pennsylvania (in 1754) which had grown into a presbytery before the Revolution. Some congregations of Reformed Presbyterians, were also planted in the country about the same time (1752). In 1782 a union was effected between the Associate and the Reformed Presbyterian churches, which took the name of Associate Reformed. But some on both sides declined it, whereby three different organizations were constituted. The Associate Reformed, which was strongest, in 1858 united with the outstanding Associate church, forming what is now called the United Presbyterian Church of North America. Still the union did not contain the whole of both parties.

The principal section separated from the Presbyterian church of the United States, on important doctrinal

grounds was that which arose out of a revival in Kentucky and adjoining regions westward, and designated as the Cumberland Presbytery. By licensing uneducated ministers to meet the demands of the new congregations, that Presbytery fell under censure of the General Assembly. In 1810, it was formed anew, on a separate footing, rejecting the doctrines of predestination and limited atonement. It has since become very numerous, in the West, and still bears the popular name of Cumberland Presbyterian.

It was unfavorable to the Dutch Reformed Church in this country, in provincial times, that it had no ecclesiastical authority in itself, existing merely as a dependency of the church of Holland. Nor was that remedied until 1771, when John H. Livingstone, who had gone from America to pursue his studies at a Dutch University, brought with him, on his return, a proposal from the classis of Amsterdam, which was laid before a meeting of the Dutch ministers in New York, and resulted, in 1771, in the separate organization of the Dutch Reformed Church in America. A college for the education of young men for the ministry had, also through the efforts of Mr. Livingstone, been commenced in the previous year at New Brunswick. It was first called Queen's College; afterwards, Rutgers. The use of the Dutch language in the pulpit was gradually abandoned, and has been very little used for the last half-century. The doctrinal symbols of that church are, as in Holland, the Confession and Canons of Dort, and the Heidelberg Catechism.

Baptist Churches.

The Baptist churches of the United States came originally out of the English puritan connection. Much persecuted, under provincial government, they have met with more favor, and increased greatly since the establishment of the United States Constitution. In as far as pertains to church government, they are independents; and, with exception of their peculiar view of the Sacrament of Baptism and its corollaries, they accept the orthodox standards of the other Reformed Churches.

Catholic Church.

Romanism was, until lately, a very small element in the religious history of the United States. Within the last half century, since the great immigrations of Catholic Irish and Germans began, it has vastly increased; but still to only a small extent by conversion from native American families. It is now more determinately than ever a foreign religion, by virtue of the new dogma of Papal infallibility, binding its people by the most solemn of all obligations, to a foreign prince, whose claims demand implicit obedience alike in spiritual and temporal things.

Upon the whole the prevalent religion of the United States is that of the Reformed Churches.

Conclusion.

Finally, as respects the differences among christians, the grand question, at the present day, is that of the church, in what it consists, and what is essential to its integrity. The various forms of government adopted by the Protestant churches, in comparison with Latin and Oriental systems, have led to a more thorough discussion of this subject, than ever occurred in earlier times. As the great theme of controversy in the ancient Greek church was Theology proper, or the doctrine of God; that of the ancient Latin Church, Anthropology, or of man in his natural and covenant relations to God, and that of the Reformation, Soteriology, or the doctrine of Salvation through a Redeemer; so in our day it is Ecclesiology, or the true doctrine of the church.